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PAPERS &
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THE CAMBOOSE SHANTY

By Charles Macnamara

The writer of this article, the late Charles Macnamara, entered the service of the lumber firm of McLachlin Brothers, Arnprior, Ontario, in 1887, and remained with the firm until it was dissolved in the late 1930's. Although his work was largely confined to the office he made frequent journeys to the shanties and had, moreover, a host of friends who spent their winters in the camps. His knowledge was therefore derived from his own experience and that of friends whose lives were spent with the shanty-men. He has been described by Miss Charlotte Whitton in her book, *A Hundred Years A-Fellin',* as one "who probably carries in his personal knowledge more lore of the lower Madawaska than any man living today [1943]", and he had always hoped to write a book about this great Canadian industry. Death, however, intervened. This article was compiled a few years before his death, and we are indebted to his niece, Mrs. Franklyn Cunningham, Toronto, for permission to reproduce it here.

Charles Macnamara had many interests. He was a keen naturalist, and his comprehensive illustrated study of a beaver colony on the Ottawa River has been deposited in the Royal Ontario Museum. A second hobby at which he also excelled was photography, and a number of his fine photographs have been given to the Archives of Ontario where they may now be seen.

[George W. Spragge]

The modern lumber camp is a group of well constructed frame buildings, equipped and furnished much like a high class winter resort. In the dormitory there are separate spring beds with mattresses, sheets and blankets for each man; there is a separate wash room and often steam baths, a drying room for wet garments and a recreation room with reading matter and a radio. For a small weekly fee a laundress washes clothes. There are large airy dining rooms with well-set tables, and the bill-of-fare in variety and excellence compares with that of a good hotel. The buildings are brightly lighted with gasoline lamps or electricity, and are always comfortably heated by numerous stoves which special firemen attend day and night. Government regulations as to sanitation are strictly observed and even surpassed.

In striking contrast to these luxurious establishments, here is an account of the old time camboose shanty in universal use in early times, and which survived in the Ottawa Valley up to about 45 years ago.

The typical camboose shanty that housed 50 to 60 men was a low log building about 35 feet by 40 feet, with side walls six feet high and gables about 10 feet at the peak. Practically the only tools required to build it were axes and canthooks with some help from augers to bore

sockets for posts and holes for dowel pins. No nails or spikes were used. The crevices between the logs were chinked with moss, the larger spaces being blocked with strips of wood. The building was roofed with "scoops", that is, logs hollowed out like troughs; and these scoops, supported by two long timbers ("scoop bearers") that stretched, 12 feet apart, from one gable to the other, were laid side by side, hollow side up, sloping from the low peak to the eaves. The joints between them were covered with other scoops turned hollow side down, and the ridge of the roof, where the scoops butted together, was also covered with inverted scoops. The closeby horse stable and the combined granary and meat house were built in the same way.

The sole entrance to the shanty was a rather small door in one end of the building, about six feet high and three feet wide. Rarely there was a window some two feet square at the cook's table; and very occasionally the clerk had a small opening in the logs to illumine his rude desk. But as a rule there were no windows at all, and all the light and ventilation (not so much light but lots of ventilation) came through a large hole in the roof, 12 feet square, surrounded by a square chimney of flatted timber five or six feet high and tapered to about eight feet square at the top. Besides letting in light and air, this opening carried off the smoke of the camboose, which all-important institution will be described more particularly later.

The inside plan of a shanty was not always exactly the same, but the following was a common arrangement. The floor was of flatted timber not very closely fitted, and the spaces between the pieces soon filled up with rubbish. To the right of the door as you came in was a pile of four foot firewood. The hardworking chore boy had to provide about a cord and a half every 24 hours, as well as six large "back logs". In front of the door, between it and the camboose, was the place of the grindstones, usually two, which in the evening were in constant use sharpening axes. If square timber was being made as well as sawlogs, there was a third stone for the broad axes, which need a flat-faced stone to grind them, and narrow axes hollow out the stone. To the left of the door were two barrels of wash water for the men and a stand for a couple of wash basins. There was a spout through the logs here to empty out the dirty water. It often froze up in winter and the ice had to be forcibly punched out. Next in the corner stood the cook's water barrel, and along the left wall came the cook's shelf for meat and other stores, the cook's work table and the bread shelf. Farther along this side the clerk had his desk and beside it the van chest which held the tobacco, moccasins, clothing and sundries for sale to the men. The right side of the building was all taken up by two tiers of bunks, six or seven in each tier, and across the end farthest from the door were two more tiers of seven bunks each, in which the men slept with their feet to the fire. Continuing down the left wall, before you came to the clerk's outfit, there might be four more bunks,

and this was where the foreman slept. Often his was the only bunk in this corner. A bench of flatted timber resting on blocks extended all along in front of the bunks.

The bunks were floored with flatted poles and the bedding was usually balsam boughs, sometimes hay. Each man was supplied with a pair of heavy grey wool blankets, and two men slept together. A properly made balsam bed is quite comfortable; and as the men took off no more than their moccasins on retiring, when covered with their two pairs of blankets they were warm enough, despite the large opening in the roof, even in the coldest weather. It was not unusual for visitors to ask if the hole was not closed at night, much to the amusement of the shantymen.

And now for the camboose, the heart of the shanty. (French: cambuse, provision room on shipboard.) It was a square of logs in the middle of the shanty, 12 feet each way, retaining a foot or so of earth and sand, on which a fire for heating and cooking burned day and night. Four posts at the four corners rose to the low roof, and to one of them was attached the cramier (French: crémaillère) the ingenious adjustable crane that swung the pots over the fire. One end of the camboose was divided off by a log into a separate trough filled with sand. In this place, known as the "bean poles" beans and bread were baked in cast iron bake kettles buried in the hot sand. The "cook's shovel" used to bury the kettles was round-pointed with a short socket into which the cook fitted a long straight handle. In the hardware trade the implement was known as an "Irish miner's shovel". The "cookery" consisted of about four camp kettles, large iron pots of 10 or 12 gallons with bails and tin covers, seven or eight bake-kettles, cast iron "ovens" 14" to 16" in diameter and 4-5 in. deep with cast iron covers and lugs, a five gallon tin tea pail and a large dish pan. Other appliances were several pairs of pot hooks of various sizes to handle the kettles and pots. What might be called the tableware if there had been any table—but there wasn't—were tea dishes (pannikins), tin plates, and soup spoons. No knives or forks were provided. Each man bought a small butcher knife for himself from the van for 25 cents. This served for both knife and fork, and the experienced shantyman used it with neatness and dexterity. Between meals it was stuck in the wall of the owner's bunk.

At night the camboose fire supplied the only light. There were no lamps, except that the clerk might bring a small lamp from home for his desk, and get an odd bottle of oil from the depot. Even the teamsters had no lanterns. About every Saturday the cook and choreboy rendered beef tallow and cast thick short yellow candles in a tin mould. The teamsters made holders by winding hay wire (the shantyman's ever ready help in time of trouble) around a broom handle to a depth of four or five inches and slipping the coil off. This was fastened to the scoop bearer between the horses and the candle dropped into it. Actually, the camboose fire lit up the shanty better than lamps could have. It was as large

and cheerful as a good sized bonfire, and it never went out. A French Canadian shantyman said to me once: "At night we sit on the bench around the fire and everyone is gay". If it got low in the night there was always someone to throw on a stick of cordwood; and the cook began his day at anything between three and four in the morning. Early to bed was the rule. Eight o'clock was a late hour in the shanty. Everyone had to be at his place of work by break of day, and the farther he had to go the earlier he started. He stayed on the job until sundown and then walked back, often several miles to the shanty. I have heard a shanty philosopher expressing doubts as to the whole truth of the proverb about early to bed and early to rise. "I have been doing that all my life," he said, "and I'm healthy enough, but I don't know about being wise, and I'm sure not wealthy."

The camboose shanty was the old original cafeteria. There was no table and everyone served himself. Getting a tea dish, a tin plate and a hunk of bread from the cook's shelves, the hungry man took whatever food he wanted from the pots and kettles around the fire; then, sitting on the bench with his brimming tea dish beside him and his heaped plate on his knee, he proceeded to eat with the ready help of his butcher knife. For the perfection of hospitality you had to come to the camboose. Food was always ready; no one pressed you to eat, and no one stopped you. You ate as much as you pleased and at any time. Some even got up in the middle of the night for a snack. No wayfarer was ever refused food, and to charge for a meal was something unheard of.

With his simple open fire and his few pots and kettles, it was surprising what well-prepared food the camboose cook could set out. All his dishes were fine examples of good plain cooking, and the bread baked in the sand was particularly fine. It was close-grained yet light and of a delectable nutty flavor. The latest electric ovens of these days produce nothing better—if as good. The bread was raised with dried yeast cakes, which are yeast cells mixed with flour. Growth was started on mashed potatoes, and—though the cook did not know exactly why—an infusion of hops was added to prevent the growth of bacteria and moulds. Some of the older cooks often used leaven to raise their bread, that is, dough that has fermented or "gone sour". The leavened bread usually had a sour taste, and old-timers have told me that they became so used to the flavor that they did not relish the yeast bread they got at home.

While the food was unlimited in quantity and excellent in quality, it was lacking in variety. Now-a-days the bill-of-fare would be condemned as wanting in essential vitamins. Nevertheless shantymen were an exceptionally healthy and vigorous race. They rarely suffered from anything that could not be cured by a few pills or a bottle of Pain Killer. And they worked harder and for much longer hours than anyone does in these eight hour days. There cannot have been much wrong with their nourishment.

A CAMBOOSE SHANTY
—Courtesy Archives of Ontario, Charles Macnamara Collection

THE CAMBOOSE
—Courtesy Archives of Ontario, Charles Macnamara Collection

Breakfast was always about the same: baked beans, bread and tea, green tea; black tea and coffee were never used. Some men liked to add a little black strap molasses to their beans.

At noon most of the men were working far out in the bush, and only the few who might be close to the shanty came in for dinner. They had a choice of breakfast beans warmed over, cold salt pork or boiled fresh beef (salt beef and mutton were never seen in the shanties), bread, dried apples, and perhaps molasses or corn syrup; and of course boiling hot tea, which was said to be just right when it was strong enough to float an axe. At one time sugar was a rare luxury but later "No. 1 Yellow" was always on hand.

Each gang working together in the woods: logmakers, road cutters, teamster, skidder, took a lunch with them in a cotton bag. It consisted simply of boiled salt pork—very fat Chicago heavy mess—and bread and tea. A wise precaution was to bury the lunch bag in the snow to hide it from the ravens, who liked nothing better than to tear it open with their powerful beaks and devour the lunch. The French Canadians interpreted the bird's hoarse croak as "poche! poche!" ("bag! bag!") and said he was calling for the lunch bag. At noon the men met around a camp fire and boiled their tea and sometimes had to thaw out the bread by holding it on a stick close to the flame. The teamster gave his horses their oats, and the men ate the fat pork and smoked their pipes a while before going back to work. This sounds like frugal fare, but I have seldom enjoyed a meal as much as the bread and pork at a logmaker's fire in the winter woods.

Supper was the principal meal of the day. The main course was a camp kettle full of boiled beef and another of boiled potatoes. Salt pork also was available; and dessert would be represented by boiled rice with raisins and stewed dried apples flavored with cinnamon. These were the real old brown apples that had been dried in quarters on cotton strings and tasted much better than the bleached evaporated apples introduced later. There was always unlimited bread and sometimes rather high-flavored butter. Sea pie was the special treat on Sunday morning. A couple of bake kettles were filled with pork, beef, bread and dough with plenty of fat and buried in the hot sand to bake. Old shantymen lick their lips when they think of sea pie. Another Sunday special was "des grillades": mess pork cut into slices and fried. This was very good eating but it was considered a wasteful way of cooking pork, higher authorities did not approve of it. The hiring agreement that the men were supposed to sign—and never did—stipulated for "the usual shanty board with the exception of fried pork". However, the exception was often ignored. Once in a while pea soup was served; and if there was any baking powder ("Cook's Friend", still on the market, was a favorite brand) the cook would make a batch of enormous cookies the size of a tea plate. They were tasty enough but not what you might call rich. Also there was

generally a barrel of shanty biscuit (hardtack) on hand for use before the cook got his bread baked, or in emergencies and on journeys.

Compared with modern ways of living, life in the camboose shanty may seem to have been rough and hard. Contrasted with the general conditions of the time, the difference was not so great. In those days, waterworks and toilet conveniences were unknown outside of the large cities, the wonders of electricity in our homes were still in the future, houses were mostly heated with wood stoves, and when you woke up on a cold winter morning you were apt to find the water in your room frozen solid. The never-dying fire on the camboose was kindlier than that. In general the men were satisfied with their lot and their work, and did not think that they were suffering any particular hardships. They felt at home in the shanty and enjoyed the freedom of the life. Around the fire, as my friend said, "everyone was gay". Yet there was a code of conduct and even rules of etiquette to which the newcomer had to conform or he was soon "given his time" and sent down. The men who did not fit in were eliminated, and the gang settled down for the winter as a more or less harmonious community, only a little disturbed when the hired teams came in at New Year's. They were content to be largely cut off from the outside world until the creeks began to break up in the spring and it was time to get the rigging for the drive ready.

In preparing this article I have been greatly helped by my old friends, George L. Graham and Charles Kerr, of Arnprior. I was only an occasional visitor to the shanties, while my friends spent many long years in them, and are familiar with every detail of life and work in the woods. Their testimony is, that with all its drawbacks, the camboose shanty was a pretty good place to live in after all.

CONGRESS OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES, BUFFALO, N.Y.

Members of the Ontario Historical Society are invited to attend the meeting of the Congress of Local Historical Societies on Wednesday, July 22 at the campus of the University of Buffalo under the sponsorship of the university's Summer Session and the Buffalo Historical Society. The principal speaker at the evening dinner will be Colonel Charles P. Stacey, director of the Canadian Army Historical Section, whose address will be entitled "Thoughts on an Unfortified Frontier".

Persons interested in attending the meetings should write for complete details to Mr. John T. Horton, Buffalo Historical Society, The University of Buffalo, Buffalo 14.

In order to keep our list of affiliated societies and museums up to date it is requested that notification be given as soon as possible of any changes in officers and addresses.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT UPON THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN UPPER CANADA

By John Kenyon

"My father was a Wesleyan Methodist local preacher, and I was impregnated from youth with a picture of . . . 'a bold and courageous Ryerson storming the Strachan castle of privilege and eventually breaking down its walls' so that freedom could enter."[1] These words of Dr. W. Perkins Bull will serve as a reminder of the perils of viewing the bitter religious struggle among the churches and sects of Upper Canada in terms of the personalities of Strachan and Ryerson. Writing of Ryerson's position in the early 1840's Professor Sissons has cautioned: "Never at any time could it be said of any person, preacher or layman that he carried the Methodist vote in his waistcoat pocket, certainly not of Ryerson in 1844. . . . Of his own Conference he had never been elected annual president, and certainly could not have secured anything like a majority at this time."[2] And it must be recognized as an equally erroneous assumption that Strachan's leadership was accepted by all members of the Church of England without question. In his correspondence during 1828, for example, Sir John Colborne expressed annoyance that "the adversaries of the Church were speaking and writing as though the terms 'Church of England' and 'John Strachan' were convertible."[3] Neither man was the exclusive spokesman for his own denomination.

Within the Church of England, indeed, Strachan's authoritarian High Church views found strong opposition in an evangelical Low Church outlook which differed widely from his own on many theological, social and political questions, and perhaps down to the 1830's commanded more support among the clergy and laity than that of the Archdeacon himself. The purpose of this study is to examine these two main strands of Anglican thought in Upper Canada and to enquire how the incursion of a powerful movement—the Oxford or Tractarian Movement—affected each of the parties within the Church of England and the Church's relationship with the community at large.

It is more than likely that the forceful personality of Strachan and his position of authority within the Church and the colonial government enabled his particular theological and social views to colour the thinking of a considerable segment of the Anglican community. His ideas on the position of the church in society were in marked contrast with those of

1. Bull, W. P., *From Strachan to Owen; How the Church of England was planted in North America* (Toronto, 1937), 16.
2. Sissons, C. B., "Ryerson and the Election of 1844" (*Canadian Historical Review*, XXIII, 1942), 159.
3. Young, A. H., *The Church of England in Upper Canada, 1791-1844* (Kingston, 1930), 146.

the earlier generation of High Churchmen in Canada like Bishops Jacob Mountain of Quebec or Inglis of Nova Scotia. These, like their contemporaries in England, had identified the Church as an equal partner with the State in maintaining an aristocratic framework of society. Strachan, on the contrary, was strongly influenced by the separatist views that had developed among the Episcopal clergy of neighbouring New York State since the American Revolution. The break with England had thrown American High Churchmen upon their own resources and forced them to reconsider their whole position *vis à vis* the State. Making their way independently they had become an active, self-reliant, evangelizing force by the early years of the nineteenth century. The dominant figure in this revival was John Henry Hobart, who became assistant bishop of New York in 1811. The nineteen years of his episcopate have been described as a period "of the vigorous extension of the church into Western New York". He was tireless in his frequent visitations to his missionaries, and he was concerned above all with the development of church societies to work in the field of education, the publication of tracts, and the distribution of Bibles and Prayer Books.[4] Incidentally, there is some significance in the fact that Hobart knew many of the future leaders of the Oxford Movement. He met Newman himself at Oxford in 1824, and after Hobart's death his ideas and methods were to be eulogized by Tractarian writers.[5]

From the work and writings of Hobart, John Strachan took much of his attitudes towards the nature of the Church and its relationship to the State. At the time of Hobart's death he wrote: "A more general and correct knowledge now exists among the people of our communion in the United States, respecting the government of the Church, the beauty and excellencies of her forms, the purity of her principles, and the spirituality of her devotions, than even in England, and all this chiefly owing to Dr. Hobart's judicious and powerful labours."[6] Strachan and Hobart alike believed that the Church was an institution that existed in its own right deriving from the apostolic succession; that it was much more than a collection of its individual members, and that it did not owe any of its strength to its connection with the state. "The apostolic constitution of the Church," Strachan was to write, "requires not to be accommodated to times and circumstances, to the state of society, or the character of the civil government, for it is essentially spiritual and capable of existing with effect under every form of civil policy."[7]

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4. Hardy, E. R., "The Catholic Revival in the American Church, 1722-1933", in *Northern Catholicism: Centenary Studies in the Oxford and Parallel Movements*, edited by N. P. Williams and C. Harris (London, 1933), 84.
5. *Ibid.*, 87.
6. Strachan, J., *Letter to Dr. Chalmers on the Life and Character of Bishop Hobart* (New York, 1832), 9.
7. *Ibid.*, 20.

As early as the 1820's Strachan had expressed a similar belief:

> Let those who pretend that . . . [the Church established in England] . . . derives her chief support from her connexion with the state, her legal support, her dignity and splendour: look to Scotland where the same church deprived of all those advantages, maintains in everything the same principles and is held together by the force of opinion, and preserved, though in a state of humiliation, by a strong and uniform consent in the doctrine and discipline of the primitive Church . . . It is of great importance to the cause of Episcopacy, to behold a society of well-informed Christians adhering to its principles under circumstances peculiarly disadvantageous, from a deep conviction of their truth.[8]

For Strachan the great weakness of the American Episcopal Church in its effort to play its rightful part in the life of the community was its lack of financial independence. Strachan has written of a conversation he once held with Hobart, in which he emphasized the sorry position of a church which had to depend on its members for material support, "a state of things which is attended with most pernicious consequences. The congregation frequently take offence at their pastors without a good reason, and in such cases the latter derive no protection from the Bishops, who are equally helpless themselves. The result is, that they are too frequently sunk below the rank which they ought to hold in society; and whatever their personal merit, they fail to command that respect from a vain and thoughtless and undiscerning people which is necessary to secure attention to their instruction."[9] This view explains the importance that Strachan attached to securing from the Clergy Reserves an income for the Church of England adequate to enable it to perform its proper functions free from secular influences.

But Strachan always encountered considerable opposition to his views within his own church. These criticisms drew their inspiration from a powerful party within the English Church — the Evangelicals. These stressed the overwhelming importance of personal salvation, the individual's relationship to God. Salvation, in their view, is an intensely personal matter of conversion and faith which does not depend exclusively upon the mediation of a clergy. The Evangelicals disputed the claims for the clergy that by virtue of their office they possessed any form of authority over their congregations, and thus challenged Strachan's concept of church discipline. Furthermore their beliefs led them to question the validity of claiming for any church, even their own, a monopoly of religious truth; and to the view, anathema to Strachan, that all religious denominations are in fact no more than convenient organizations in which Christians can find fellowship together. These beliefs are well expressed by Rev. George Mortimer, Rector of Thornhill during the 1830's: "In reference to Dissent, I am, I believe, what Dissenters consider a high, bigoted, stiff Churchman, but the simple true Churchman is

8. Scadding, H., *The First Bishop of Toronto: a Review and a Study* (Toronto, 1868), 19.
9. Strachan, J. *Life of Bishop Hobart,* 45.

all I wish to be known as. I love my Church right thoroughly, and I love church unity in the same degree, and have never for many years past done anything by countenancing, aiding, or abetting Dissent, and I hope I never shall; but I cannot, dare not, unchurch Dissenters, and deny that that they are sections of Christ's outward and visible Church, and of course, I cannot but respect the private characters and conduct of many individuals among them."[10] Bishop Charles James Stewart of Quebec, who did much to encourage this evangelical tradition in the Church of England in Canada during his episcopacy (1826-37), was always far less uncompromising in his claims for the Church than Strachan. Bishop Stewart made every effort to prevent the controversy over the Clergy Reserves from becoming a bitter one: "I persuade myself," he wrote, "that I shall never be thought the advocate of rapaciousness or injustice . . . if it can really be shown that we are making an unjust claim or grasping more than is fairly ours, let us subscribe with heart and hand to a renunciation of our pretenses . . . let us not be angry with others because they view the case differently from ourselves, nor violate the sweet charities of social intercourse in the frank and open declaration of our sentiments on the question."[11]

Where did the rank and file of the clergy, to the number of 46 in 1833 and 90 by 1841, stand on this fundamental division upon the character and role of the Church of England? Biographical details, like those collected by Dr. Talman,[12] do little to tell what individual ministers thought about these matters and how far they were committed to the various parties in the Church. We are forced to rely on statements like one which Strachan made to the Archbishop of Dublin during 1836:" With the exception of one Clerical Gentleman introduced to me by Your Grace, the clergymen who came to this country from Ireland are strangely Calvinistic in their sermons—and go much further than those who are called Evangelical in England."[13]

During the 1830's the Church of England in Upper Canada became seriously affected by two changes in the religious climate emanating from Britain, one affecting its material welfare, the other its theological concepts. Both, curiously, were the products of the radical financial and administrative reforms of the parent church carried out by the Whig government elected in 1832. Their action concerning the Irish bishoprics prepared the ground for the Oxford Movement and for the strong influence that the writings of the Tractarians were to assume over English

10. Armstrong, J., *Life and Letters of the Rev. George Mortimer* (London, 1847), 281.

11. Millman, T. R. *Life of . . . Charles James Stewart, Second Anglican Bishop of Quebec* (London, Ont., 1953), 113.

12. Talman, J. J., "Some Notes on the Clergy of the Church of England in Upper Canada Prior to 1840". Royal Society of Canada, *Proceedings and Transactions, Third Series*, XXXII (1928), Section 2, 57-66.

13. Clark, S. D., *Church and Sect in Canada* (Toronto, 1948), 122.

public opinion. Their attempts to reduce governmental expenditures threatened a financial crisis for the clergy in Canada.

After 1815 the clergy of the Church of England in Upper Canada received the greater part of their stipends of £200 a year through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. However, much of this amount was secured by the Society, in turn, from a Parliamentary grant which had grown from £3,600 in 1814 to £15,500 in 1831. By then the Society was using about £7,000 of the grant to make up a sum of £9,774 which it reserved for expenditure in the Canadian mission field, its principal area of interest at this time. This grant had always been regarded by British governments as a temporary expedient, the expectation being that eventually the Clergy Reserves would provide amply for the needs of the Church in Upper Canada. However the hope had never been realized. Before 1825 there was virtually no revenue from the Reserves while the growing immigration from the British Isles threw ever-larger demands upon the Church. Hence the British government was compelled, unwillingly, to keep up the financial assistance. After 1828 demands for retrenchment in government expenditure became increasingly vocal in Britain and more and more criticism of these ever-growing grants was expressed in Parliament. Consequently the newly-elected Whig government, no particular friend of expenditures of this sort, proposed to reduce its grant to the S.P.G.F.P. from £12,000 in 1832 to £4,000 in 1834 and after that date to terminate the grant. The hope was expressed that by 1834 the income from the reserves would suffice to offset the revenue lost through discontinuance of the grant. In practice, however, most missionaries in Upper Canada found their stipends reduced from £200 to £100 in 1833 and 1834. By 1833 the British government was already having second thoughts. Stanley, the new Colonial Secretary, realized that the government's calculation had been far too optimistic and proposed as a compromise that an annual grant of £4,000 be maintained for a further period after 1834 to ensure that clergy and missionaries would receive at least 85% of their previous stipends throughout their lifetimes. Though later it became necessary to reduce this guarantee further the outcome was not so serious for the clergy as had been originally feared.

The financial crisis did something to stimulate a desire for independence within the Church, a feeling that it should be both self-supporting and self-governing by means of synods.[14] More important, it was in the atmosphere created by this crisis that the ideas embodied in the noted 'Tracts for the Times' first reached Upper Canada and, under circumstances, were received with more sympathy than might have been anticipated from a church so strongly influenced by evangelical traditions.

14. Millman, T. R., *op. cit.*, 114-123.

It is difficult to estimate how wide a circulation the Tracts for the Times enjoyed in Upper Canada; it was the opinion of *The Church* on August 19, 1842, that they had been little read. Strachan, however, reported a considerable interest in the Tracts. In 1839 he was writing to Newman: "I have found so much in accordance with my own heart and with my own principles in 'The Tracts for the Times' that I shall be very reluctant to leave England for Upper Canada without becoming acquainted with the Authors."[15] By 1840 he was commenting favourably upon the change that the spread of these doctrines had made in the Church of England in Canada: "We have a weekly journal under the direction of a beneficed clergyman which during its continuance of three years has done much good in spreading the distinctive principles of the Church of England & removing the prejudices and mistatements [sic] which the Dissenters publish and foster against her. We are gaining grounds rapidly & many of my clergy who were rather low in their opinions on the Sacraments & Sacred Character of the Church are very much changed for the better.[16] Strachan always emphasized the important part that the Tracts had played in making this change: "I am certainly one of those who believe that the earlier Numbers wrought wonders for our Church and revived with a force never to be diminished, I trust, that Spirit of reverence for primitive truth & order, which in many places seemed to be entirely forgotten."[17]

These opinions were sturdily supported by an editorial in *The Church*: "Never since the days of the Reformation has the Church of England stood upon an eminence so high and holy as at present . . . it was needful, when men's minds were steeped in the sins and evils of a growing democracy, both in things spiritual and temporal, that they should be brought to see the real foundations of Christian government . . . Thousands sensible now of the sins of separation from the Church of Christ . . . have sought her folds again. . . . To deny or doubt that the authors of the 'Tracts for the Times' were in a great degree instrumental in bringing about this happy change, were to confess ourselves strangely ignorant of passing events. . . . They may, in the ardour of the spirit . . . have erred . . . we may lament, and we may condemn these errors, but let us at the same time be just in awarding the praise where it is deserved."[18]

The principles of the Oxford Movement were not accepted by High Churchmen in Upper Canada, however, without a certain sense of reserve. They seemed conscious from a very early stage that this reaction against evangelical traditions carried with it the danger of a move toward Roman

15. Moir, J. S., "The Correspondence of Bishop Strachan and John Henry Newman" (*Canadian Journal of Theology*, III, 1957), 220.
16. *Ibid.*, 222.
17. *Ibid.*, 224.
18. *The Church*, August 4, 1843.

Catholicism. In his correspondence with Newman Strachan emphasized that the doctrines of the Anglican Church could be considered the *via media*: "Your invaluable labours . . . protect the Church from Popery on the one hand and Dissent on the other."[19] Accordingly, Newman's conversion to Roman Catholicism came as a profound shock. To Strachan, in Scadding's words, Newman became "as a stone cast in the sea."[20] Strachan was to make his own position on the Tractarians quite clear during the later 1840's when the number of conversions was at its height in England:

> So far as the Oxford writers brought forward doctrines warranted by Holy Scripture and which though for a time nearly forgotten, have been held by the Church in all ages and all places, viz., The Apostolic Succession as declared in our Ordinal—Baptismal Regeneration as set forth in our Catechism and Baptismal and Confirmation Services—and the real though spiritual communion in the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist as shewn in the communion Office—and that the Church is by divine appointment the depositary and witness of truth, they did good service. . . . But so far as any of them have indulged towards Rome or attempted in the slightest manner to gloss over or palliate any of her numerous and deadly corruptions, or have brought forward their individual opinions in favour of novelties which have neither the sanctions of the Scripture, nor are supported by the authorised formularies of the Church, I give them no countenance.[21]

This belief in the Anglican Church as the *via media* found many other echoes in the theological writings of High Churchmen in Upper Canada during this period of challenge from the Catholic revival *The Church* is full of quotations like the following:

> A clergyman who mutilates the baptismal service, who violates the generally recognised rubrics or who shortens the prayers according to his convenience and caprice, and sets up a standard of his own in the performance of divine worship is in danger of becoming a Protestant Dissenter, in matters of doctrine as well as ceremony. A clergyman who introduces strange gestures and exploded ornaments or observances connected with the superstitions of the age preceding the Reformation, or who, for some silly and at best most unimportant trifle will awake the Protestant fears of the people and fill them with the liveliest and most distressing apprehensions, is in danger of becoming outwardly and in heart a Popish dissenter. From all such men . . . we hope that the Church will make very effort to deliver herself . . .[22]

> The hacknied and ridiculous charge of what is vaguely called *Puseyism* is too contemptible for a special refutation, and in the sense in which it is applied to us, is received as an honour and an assurance of our being in the safe, middle path between Popery and Dissent . . . .[23]

> Dissent, at present, is the enemy from which the Church in Canada has most to fear; but the sky is not without its signs, that Popery—taking advantage of our divisions and of the countless absurdities and heresies which have di-

19. Moir, J. S., *op. cit.*, 223.
20. Scadding, H., *op. cit.*, 17.
21. Strachan, J., *A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Toronto . . . 6th of June,* 1844 (Toronto, 1844) 53 - 54.
22. *The Church,* April 28, 1843.
23. *Ibid.,* October 28, 1842.

> graced the otherwise glorious name of Protestantism—is about to make a grand effort for regaining her lost and, we pray, her irrecoverable supremacy . . .[24]

> In the vocabulary of the Dissenters [Puseyism] sometimes signifies High Church principles; at other times, it mean a fondness for ritual observances, or even a punctual attendance to the rubrics of the Church; sometimes every sentiment that is opposed to the doctrines of Genevan theology, particularly as it regards the Sacraments, is called by this name . . . if we admit that all those doctrines belong to it, to which the various sectaries have applied this term, it is probable that more than nine-tenths of the Clergy of England are "Puseyites"; but if we take those opinions of the Oxford Tractarians that are really at variance with the doctrines of the Church of England as the exclusive components of "Puseyism" then perhaps . . . there could not be found fifty persons that are in the slightest degree infected with it.[25]

Difficult as it is to gather information about the clergy at this time, it is even more so to trace the impact of Tractarianism upon the Anglican clergy and laity in Upper Canada. One example may be quoted, though with reservations since the narrator, Strachan, was not a dispassionate witness. It tells of the work of Mark Burnham, himself a graduate from Oxford, at St. Thomas near Port Talbot:

> It is gratifying to state the very prosperous condition in which I found this parish, owing to the zealous and judicious exertion of its exemplary clergyman. The success attendant upon his labours . . . he ascribes . . . to a more clear and earnest development on his part of the distinctive principles of the Church . . . while he performed his duty conscientiously . . . but without bringing forward prominently the government, order, and peculiar excellencies of the Church, and the necessity of communion with her by those who expect the privileges and blessings of the Redeemer's sacrifice, matters went on with regularity and smoothness: his people were decent and discreet in their Christian walk, but they seemed scarcely conscious of any difference between themselves and the sectaries around them. It was not until he pointed out distinctly and emphatically the nature and privileges of the Church, her close resemblance to the apostolic pattern, the many important and decided differences between her and other 'Protestant denominations' that his congregation began to feel that they were a distinct and privileged people . . . and they manifested themselves no longer lukewarm in her service, but were ready to contribute with their substance as well as by their example to the advancement of her holy cause . . . the church has been enlarged and repaired, a large and commanding school-house has been built, in which religion forms the basis of instruction, and distinct principles of the Church are impressed upon the hearts and minds of the rising generation.[26]

From the first the elder generation of Evangelical clergymen had shown an undisguised hostility to the ideas of the Oxford Movement. Robert David Cartwright, the minister at Kingston during the 'thirties, was described as considering "the Tractarian movement with much concern; he foresaw in them the most serious results to the best interests of the Established Church and the cause of Christ in general; and only

24. *Ibid.*, August 19, 1842.
25. *Ibid.*, December 1, 1843.
26. Strachan, J., *Journal of a Visitation to the Western Part of His Diocese in the Autumn of 1842* (London, 1846), 34-36.

two days before his lamented death (June, 1842) he conversed on the subject with a brother minister of the Gospel, expressing his decided disapproval of their doctrines and his fears for the consequences."[27] And Rev. George Mortimer expressed similar misgivings:

> As to Episcopacy, I think with Bishop Hall that it is necessary for the well or better being of a Church, but not essentially necessary to its very being itself; and as to High Church principles, or Puseyism, or Tractarian notions, I go not a single step. I regard them as quite subversive of the doctrines of Christ; there is not a single point, by which they are distinguished, but if honestly carried out must lead to Romanism. Admit for example that in ordination, there is conveyed through the bishop of necessity and independent of the state of mind of the candidate any grace or virtue or qualification for the spiritually and graciously discharging the duties of the ministerial offices which is not conveyed by Presbyterianism or Methodistical ordination and you arrogate for our Church what neither Scripture on the one hand nor daily observation on the other will substantiate.[28]

And in 1842 he wrote further on this subject to his sister, Mrs. Holland: "I hope my dear nephew will be on his guard; caution him against a religion of forms and ceremonies and high priestly assumption, none of which can be maintained without sapping the grand fundamental articles of Protestant religion, Justification by Faith . . . let anything be expected otherwise than from Christ by faith through the power and agency of the divine spirit, and carry out this admission to its full length, and you are landed safely in Romanism. I fear much for the younger clergy . . . High Churchmen . . . will harry hundreds and thousands into Romanism, or force the decidedly Evangelical into secession . . ."[29]

Mark Burnham's successful ministry at St. Thomas seems to indicate that High Church principles were perhaps acceptable to congregations in the settled areas of the province. But the experience of missionaries on the still-expanding frontier indicates a very different reception, particularly when the missionaries verged towards Tractarian ideas or for other reasons became identified in the minds of their auditors with the secession to Rome. Alexander Pyne recounted his experiences in the Huron Tract during these years:

> Frequently I was not welcomed by many merely because I was a minister of the Church of England. . . . This feeling of suspicion and hostility has originated from the advocacy of the principles put forth some years since by the Oxford Tract writers as well as from the secession of many of the clergy of the Home Church to Romanism. . . . On one occasion I travelled many miles to reach a distant settlement in the vicinity of Lake Huron where I had previously appointed to hold service in accordance with the desire of a good number of settlers. . . . As it happened to be about a half hour before sunset and not wishing to disturb the congregation during the service, I ordered the candles to be lighted before I commenced. This was accordingly done, and after the service the people dispersed to their several localities homewards, but lo! a murmur reached me after a few days to the effect that 'I was sadly tainted

27. M., E.M., *Recollections of a Beloved Pastor* (Kingston, 1845), 16-17.
28. Armstrong, J., *op. cit.*, 281-282.
29. *Ibid.*, 233-234.

> with the notions of the new theology about the symbolism of candles and that I appeared to think that divine service required that aid to make it more efficacious' . . . Now we are coldly and cautiously received as ministers even by our own people until they prove by our individual teaching whether we come among them to sow poison or truth.[30]

A. W. H. Rose, another observer, told of similar experiences, this time of a Rev. C. Bold Hill, a missionary "who frequently rides two hundred miles a week, living a great part of his time in the saddle": "This laborious servant of Christ lately found some of his congregation much thinned for a time after all his labours, by a Methodist preacher who went about from time to time warning the people against the ministrations of the Church as only a modified form of that very popery against which, save where belied by Ultra-Tractarian adherents, she always constitutes under God the surest and most impregnable bulwark."[31] "With such", he wrote elsewhere, "if a church be decorated with green boughs agreeable to primitive preaching, it is Popery. If a clergyman preaches in his surplice, it is Puseyism."[32]

The intensity of the Evangelical reaction to the introduction of High Church and Tractarian principles into Upper Canada may therefore be regarded as owing something to the clash between the ideals of individualistic, informal frontier life and those of more orderly and complex maturing communities. But even in Toronto itself, under Strachan's watchful eye, the Evangelical tradition could find expression to vex him: "The Reverend Edmund Baldwin complained that when he or the Rector, Dean Grasett, both pronounced evangelicals, preached any distinctly evangelical doctrine, the Bishop would say when they reached the vestry, 'I will preach next Sunday.' Then he was sure to say, with reference to what had been preached before, *'That* is what some people think, but *this* is the way the matter is to be understood.' And then he would proceed to give the orthodox Anglican doctrine in a way that could not be mistaken. "[33]

The long-standing controversy between Anglican High Churchmen and Evangelicals in Upper Canada was intensified during this period by the diffusion of Tractarian ideas within the High Church group and the striking revival of Catholicism throughout the western world. Feeling in Canada against the Catholic revival certainly ran as strongly as in Great Britain, where Cardinal Wiseman's attempt to recreate a Catholic hierarchy had been greeted as clear evidence of 'Papal aggression'. In Canada Protestants of all denominations thought they discerned in the increased political power of the French of Lower Canada and in the heightened immigration of Irish Catholics to Canada evidences of a

30. Pyne, A., *Reminiscences of Colonial Life and Missionary Activity in Two Hemispheres* (London, 1875), 46-48.
31. Rose, A. W. H., *The Emigrant Churchman in Canada* (London, 1849), I, 195.
32. *Ibid.*, II, 150.
33. Reed, T. A., *A History of the University of Trinity College* (Toronto, 1952), 29.

Catholic threat to their social as well as religious life: "Rome fights against Gospel light as well as civil liberty—against the welfare of the immortal soul, as well as the progress of human civilization."[34] The Anglican High Churchmen insisted again and again that their path was the middle one between Catholicism and Dissent; the Evangelicals emphasised in reply that the experience of England showed only too clearly that thinking along this line would only result in defections to Rome. And during the 1850's it seemed for many Protestants that more and more clergy were following a perilous path: "We have abundant evidence that Puseyism is spreading in this colony. The senseless mummeries practised under the name of Religion! — the wearing of gowns and bands in the streets, for the avowed purpose of gratifying the mental tendencies of the Episcopal Bishop! — the open advocacy, alike by the pulpit and the press, of that ruinous fallacy, baptismal regeneration—all testify as to the leanings of the Anglican clergy in this province."[35]

The strength of the Evangelical movement in Upper Canada lay in the western part of the province, with Benjamin Cronyn, Rector of London, as its head, though just as Strachan was faced with Evangelical teaching in Toronto, Cronyn also encountered strong High Church tendencies in his colleagues Burnham at St. Thomas, Townley at Paris, Mack at Amherstburg, and Slater at Sarnia.

Benjamin Cronyn had always played a leading part in the business of the Diocese since his arrival in the country in the early 1830's; by 1851, however, Strachan had become convinced that he was a very bad influence. Writing to the Secretary of the S.P.G.F.P. he complained: "Mr. Cronyn has been the focus of all the agitations against the Society's plans and me for supporting peace and order among the clergy of that [the Western] section . . . he is a low Churchman and better fitted for a political agitator than a Bishop."[36]

The crisis in the relationship between the two men, and also between the two parties in the Church, came to a head over the election of a Bishop for the newly-created diocese of Huron in 1857. Both the Evangelicals and the High Churchmen amongst the electors at first had looked to the British Isles for their champions. The former party, many of them of Irish antecedents, turned to Dublin. It was suggested that the Reverend Robert McGee, a vigorous evangelical, might be persuaded to stand for election. The opposing High Church group hoped that Sir George Prevost, the nephew of Isaac Williams and the friend of Keble and Pusey, might consider the appointment. However there was a widespread feeling that the new Bishop should be elected from the ranks of the Canadian clergy; and it soon became a struggle between Cronyn himself and Archdeacon

34. The Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette, 1859—quoted in Walker, F. A., "Protestant Reaction in Upper Canada to the 'Popish Threat'." (*Canadian Catholic Historical Association,* 18th Report, 1951), 98.
35. The Christian Observer, 1851—quoted in *ibid.,* 99.
36. Reed, T. A., *op. cit.,* 63.

Bethune of Cobourg, whose name was very closely linked with Strachan's in the public mind.[37]

Supporters of Cronyn attacked the rival candidate's High Church beliefs, and strove assiduously to obtain from the committee supporting Bethune some explanation of his "published and oft-expressed palliations of the teachings of Dr. Pusey, 'The Tracts for the Times' and the Tractarians who have long since gone to Rome."[38] Another attack consisted of references to the disturbances which had occurred amongst Bethune's congregation at Cobourg when he had attempted to introduce some form of imagery into the Church and erect it on the altar.[39] Bethune's supporters averred that this disturbance had been the result of confusion; Bethune had accepted what was nothing more than "a simple wooden structure with mere emblems of the Crucifixion, with nothing approaching to figures, screwed onto it" from one of his parishioners, and as soon as he had realised the unfortunate effect it was having, it was removed from the church. With respect to his doctrines, the evidence showed that he had refused to have anything to do with the Tractarians as soon as they had passed beyond the teaching of the Prayer Book. For his supporters it was clear that the choice lay between "a Calvinistic Bishop, who will substitute a narrow and bitter uncharitable theology for that of the all-prevailing efficacy of the Blood of Christ; or a true son of the Reformed Anglican Church, who in the spirit of the Gospel and the Prayer Book, will . . . guard the flock of Christ committed to his care against . . . Popery, Calvinism and every other form of heresy."[40] Spokesmen for the Bethune candidacy also attacked Cronyn on the grounds that whereas Bethune had shown evidence of his sense of responsibility for the spiritual welfare of the people of the back settlements, Cronyn was content to remain the rector of the 'flourishing city of London', and even here his duties were neglected through his failure to make any provision for parochial visiting, either in person or through the agency of a curate paid by himself.[41]

The outcome was that Bethune failed to secure the necessary votes for election. In Professor Landon's words: "It was significant that while the clerical vote was closely divided between the 'high' and 'low' candidates, the lay vote was decidedly in favour of the 'low-church' candidate"[42] The actual figures were twenty-two clerical and twenty-three lay votes for Cronyn; twenty clerical and ten lay votes for Bethune.[43]

37. Crowfoot, A. H., *Benjamin Cronyn, First Bishop of Huron* (London, Ont., 1957), 66-67.

38. *The Episcopal Controversy: Being a Series of Letters Written by the Respective Friends of Archdeacon Bethune and Dr. Cronyn, Rector of London, the Two Candidates for the Bishopric of Western Diocese* (London, C.W., 1857), 9-10.

39. *Ibid.*, 9-10.

40. *Ibid.*, 15.

41. *Ibid.*, 18.

42. Landon, F., *Western Ontario and the American Frontier* (Toronto, 1941), 278-279.

43. Crowfoot, A. H., *op. cit.*, 70.

The new Bishop was soon engaged in controversy with Strachan, this time over Trinity College. Cronyn had never been happy with Strachan's idea that Trinity College should become the Church University for the whole of Upper Canada, because "the undoubted tendency of the teaching is to develop unobtrusively but surely in the minds of the students the essential principles of the theological system variously and technically known by the name 'sacramental' or 'tractarian' . . . turnings and genuflections are but too often made the symbols of parties."[44] As early as 1851 Strachan had complained that: "Mr. Cronyn did all he could to oppose Trinity College and to bolster up Toronto University, and prevented those over whom he had any influence from subscribing to its funds."[45] There is no doubt indeed that Cronyn would have preferred that Trinity follow the example of King's College in London, which was a religious foundation whose students received degrees and itself received endowments from the secular University of London. As Bishop of Huron, Cronyn was in a position to enter into active opposition to Strachan's plans, for "the Charter of Trinity College provided that the bishop of any diocese carved out of the original Diocese of Toronto became by virtue of his office a member of the Corporation of Trinity College." However, Cronyn preferred to avoid a public controversy over the question, considering that the solution lay not in trying to combat high church tendencies at Trinity but rather in creating a new theological school within his own diocese that could be kept safely under his own control.

But Cronyn's hand was forced at the annual meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Huron in 1860 by Adam Townley's action in proposing that the Synod express full support of the actions of Strachan in promoting the cause of Trinity. Townley seems to have been unaware of Cronyn's strong feelings about the College, and when these were made clear, asked permission to withdraw the motion. But this was refused, and upon its being put before the Synod his motion was lost by a large majority. Having committed himself, Cronyn now decided to take full advantages of his rights according to the revised statutes of Trinity College. Between 1861 and 1863 he attended every meeting of the Corporation with the five councillors he was empowered to appoint, trying to press home his charges that the theological teaching was doctrinally unsound. In 1863 by a vote of sixteen to eight the Corporation maintained the opinion that "the teaching is neither unsound, unscriptural, contrary to the doctrines of the Church of England, dangerous in its tendencies nor leading to the Church of Rome", an opinion that had previously been concurred in by the Synod of the Diocese of Toronto, and more important, by the four other bishops. Cronyn withdrew his representatives from the Corporation, ceased to have any further con-

44. Cronyn, B., *Bishop of Huron's Objection to the Theological Teaching of Trinity College . . .* (London, C.W., 1862).
45. Reed, T. A., *op. cit.*, 63.

nection with Trinity, and centred his attentions upon Huron College, founded in the same year, "for the training of students in the Protestant and Evangelical principles of the Articles of the Church in their natural and grammatical sense, as well as in harmony with due church order and discipline."[46]

The strength of the High Church party in Toronto was reaffirmed in 1866 in the election of a coadjutor bishop to assist and eventually succeed the aged Strachan. Of the four leading candidates, three—Provost Whitaker of Trinity, Bethune, and Dr. Fuller—belonged to this party, and the one Evangelical candidate, Dean Grasett, never obtained much support from the electors. Bethune finally received the necessary majority and the appointment.

It has not been possible to write of the Church of England in Upper Canada during the lifetime of Bishop Strachan without placing him firmly in the centre of the stage. His powerful influence, exerted for so many years over all the activities of the Church, did much to promote the growth, in the face of seemingly unfavourable conditions, of a High Church party whose members were ready to accept those Tractarian views which accorded so well with Strachan's authoritarian theological beliefs.

But while this study of the effect of the Oxford Movement has done nothing to diminish Strachan's stature, it has at the same time sought to show why he was never able to act with a united church at his back. It was mainly due to the strength of his personality that the High Church party was able to weather the bitter attacks of the evangelical Protestants from within and without the Church of England during the fifties and sixties. Neither party within the Church saw much hope during this period of ever bridging the fundamental differences of opinion that lay between them, accentuated all the more by their differing reactions to Tractarian ideas.

This difference was reflected in the political lives of Church members. It is true that on so basic a question as the maintenance of the British connection the Church presented a solid front; Cronyn campaigned enthusiastically on behalf of the government during the 1836 election. But on many other questions the connection between the Church of England and Toryism was never so close as might be supposed. In gaining for Canada responsible government and in recasting King's College as a state-aided secular university the Irish-descended Anglican Reformer Robert Baldwin was in fact winning signal triumphs over the social concepts of the High Church party.

46. *The Gospel in Canada; and Its Relations to Huron College* (London, C.W., 1865), 10.

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LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Desecration of the Dead

Vandalism in many cemeteries across the province has been wide spread, causing much distress to many families.

This categorical statement should have long since reached the conscience of our law enforcement officers. The LAW covering this matter is quite clear:—

The Ontario Cemeteries Act, Chapter 46 revised statutes of Ontario 1950, states:—

The Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council *may prevent* the removal of Tombstones, Trees, Shrubs and fences from cemeteries and is empowered to see to it that every cemetery is properly fenced, cleared and weeded and cared for in a proper manner.

A trustee (or local board) may be appointed and the treasurer of the municipality shall be asked to pay, upon demand, for services performed by a local board or trustee.

Sec. 37. Penalty for defacing or damaging fences, stones and shrubs etc., is a fine of from $100.00 to $500.00.

In view of the above LAW, it would seem that the Municipalities across the Province should be urged to pay heed to this matter and take all necessary steps to see that in future any depredation to our old and historical cemeteries shall stop and notices to this effect posted in all the old burying places.

VIVIEN M. SPACK, U.E., Secretary,
United Empire Loyalists Association,
Hamilton Branch.

VOLUMES 9, 10, 11 TO BE REPRINTED

Members will be pleased to learn that it has been decided to resume the reprinting of certain volumes of the Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records, stocks of which have been exhausted for some time. Work will commence on the ninth, tenth and eleventh volumes this summer. Announcements giving details of contents and price will be published in forthcoming numbers of *Ontario History* as the volumes are received from the printer. In the meantime, those interested in securing any or all of these volumes are invited to place advance orders with the Secretary-Treasurer, Miss Edna Ash, 27 Surrey Place, Toronto 5.

GRACE SEASONED WITH SALT: A PROFILE OF REVEREND WILLIAM JENKINS, 1779-1843

By Mariel Jenkins

Early Scottish settlers throughout the Home District of Upper Canada were keenly aware of their lack of spiritual sustenance. On April 19, 1817 a petition from them went to the Associate Reformed Presbytery of Saratoga, New York—

> the inhabitants of Scarboro, Markham and Whitchurch townships, in the Home District of Upper Canada, beg the liberty of presenting before your Rev'd Assembly our destitute and deplorable state, for want of means of Grace, having no spiritual guide, none to break among us the Bread of Life, our Sabbaths are silent, the voice of the gospel of our salvation is scarcely heard in our land. We are ready to perish for lack of saving knowledge, none to pour the balm of consolation into the wounded spirit, or proclaim to us the acceptable year of our Lord. Our situation is such that we have not a Presbyterian minister within one hundred miles of us in any direction. When your Rev'd Assembly attends to this, our prayer to Zion is that He may dispose your Rev'd Presbytery to grant us our earnest request viz. that we have several times heard the Rev'd William Jenkins preach the Gospel and do unanimously approve of, and believe him to be a suitable person to break among us the Bread of Life, we do therefore pray that the Rev'd Presbytery would as soon as possible translate him to this place.[1]

The Reverend William Jenkins who came to Upper Canada in response to this call and who was to devote the remaining twenty-six years of his life to the service of Presbyterian congregations in the central part of the province, was not a native of America. He was born in Kirriemuir, Scotland, of Covenanter stock. Nothing is known of his childhood, but at an early age he began to prepare for the ministry. He attended lectures at the University of Edinburgh, but left before graduation.[2] When William heard of the need for missionaries to work among the Indians in America he offered himself. True these copper-coloured savages had murdered in cold blood the Jesuit missionaries who had gone to tell them of Christ. Yet the Story must be told. They were in said need of saving grace and to him had come the call. Perhaps too, he felt departure from his own land would ease the loneliness which had followed the death of his young wife, Jane Forrest.

After arrival in the United States, William continued his studies—probably under the tutorial guidance of James Mairs, a moderator of the Associate Reformed Presbytery of Saratoga. He was a brilliant scholar, having an outstanding mastery of Hebrew and Greek, but since William was to be a missionary among the Indians he mastered several of their

1. Petition to James Mairs dated April 19, 1817. In the possession of Mrs. Jenkins Burkholder, Montreal.

2. Glasgow, W.M., *Cyclopedic Manual of the United Presbyterian Church of North America.* (Pittsburgh, 1903), 174.

dialects as well. In the year 1807, having completed his theological studies, he was licensed to preach. In response to a petition from the Warriors and Chiefs of the Oneida Nation, he was ordained and called at the Presbytery meeting at Galway, New York, as missionary to the Oneida Nation at Oneida Castle.[3]

It was during his Indian Mission that he met and married the lovely Mary Hatfield Stockton, descendant of the early Stocktons of New Jersey. At home Mary was served by well-trained coloured retainers. At Oneida Castle she took for help Indian girls, who were unaccustomed to house work, but her kindness and patience were such that she soon won from them affection and loyalty. They were eager to please her and were most happy to be commended for their effort.

The desire to please those whom they trusted, characteristic of the Indian, was frequently exploited by speculators intent on wresting land from them. The minister remarked, "Indians are like children . . . They are often zealous about those things which lead to their ruin . . . There is in them a strong disposition to acquiesce in the expressed opinions and desires of those in whom they place confidence. This renders them easy prey to the artful and designing."[4] Often the minister went into court in defence of his converts and was himself assaulted by the rogues he outwitted.

Regular church services were held, and in addition, there was a period of religious instruction, when the minister attempted to answer the many questions asked by the Indians. In reporting the matter Mr. Jenkins comments, "These questions show something like tenderness of conscience in those Indians brought under the power of the gospel."

Q. Doth true repentance make men and women better people?

A. Yes.

Q. Some Indians, in order to cure the sick use ormiatta (a root steeped in spirits which they supposed possessed supernatural powers.) They blow and squirt the water out of the mouth on the sick. Some who believe in Christ do it but some fear to do this. What is your mind?

A. If the ormiatta is good for the sick you need neither blow or spit in their faces. By God's help it will heal.

Q. Why do ministers differ from each other about certain things in religion?

A. Because the eyes of their souls are not all equally clear to see the will of God. Their views of the truth are therefore imperfect. But they differ about matters of small importance when compared with the truths about which they are agreed. Ministers of all Christian Churches agree in believing in one God, holy, wise, powerful, just and good. They believe in the Bible as His book; that God made man holy; that man sinned; that all men are sinners and deserve the wrath of God; that the Lord Jesus Christ became man and as our Saviour took the burden of our sins—all the sins of those who truly repent and believe the Gospel; that God's children who are renewed by the Holy Spirit hate sin and love to do the will of God.

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3. Statement of James Mairs, Moderator, Associate Reformed Presbytery, Galway, N.Y., April 28, 1809.

4. Excerpts from Mr. Jenkins' Journal, published in *Canadian United Presbyterian Magazine*, November 1, 1857.

"This answer was more extended than I give here, but it seemed to satisfy them as they asked no more about it—a thing I rather feared than wished they should do," Mr. Jenkins comments.[5]

The need to have the scriptures translated into the Indian dialect was urged by the minister. To aid in this task, he consulted James Dean. Dean claimed that after forty years of effort in this direction, he concluded that "it would be a very difficult undertaking, if not utterly impracticable, to translate the scriptures into the Indian language in such a manner as to express the sense of the original and render it intelligible to the Indian."[6]

William Jenkins' summary of mission life and experience may well be echoed by mission workers in all ages:

> There is in the routine duty of the missionary little variety. Each day comes with its duties, its cares and its trials, and sometimes the light of God's countenance shining upon his soul sustaining and comforting him. It requires faith in God's word, patience and perseverence to do in a proper manner our duties to men. Missionaries and ministers often feel in their souls the necessity of strong faith in God's promises. They, of all others, know what is implied and expressed in this exhortation: and let us not weary in well doing for in due time we shall reap if we faint not.[7]

Today residents of Oneida Castle recall little of the time when Indians occupied the valley. The longhouse, which for many years stood as reminder of Indian Sovereignty, has disappeared: the Sacred Stone, which followed the Oneida Tribe in its wanderings, has come to rest in a near-by town. But the towering elms, which grew in the days of Chief Skenandoah, still dapple with sun and shade the waters of Oneida Creek, and in the purple distance the Stockbridge Range stands guard over the lovely scene. The missionary's name is forgotten, but the Gospel of Christ brings comfort to the Oneida people.

With the death of Chief Skenandoah the mission to the Oneida people was suspended and Mr. Jenkins was given the status of Home Missionary with a salary of $600 a year. Under his instructions he was

> to visit as soon as the situation and your family permit, the Seneca Indians, and generally the various tribes on the Lakes from Erie, North West, to ascertain their situations, and the prospects of labours among them. You will keep a regular Journal of all your findings, of the state of the Senecas in regard to their morals, and generally everything appertaining to missionary duties and prospects. The time you are to spend on this visit must be left almost wholly to your own discretion with this only request, that you satisfy yourself upon the different objects of inquiry upon which you are bent, and be able to give us a lucid view of that missionary ground. You will also understand that when this shall have been accomplished if the Society should perceive no promising affiliations among the Indians, they will aid you in Missionary labours among the destitute settlements of our own communion.[8]

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5. *Ibid.*
6. Letter from James Dean, dated December 20, 1815. In the possession of James Ross Jenkins, Toronto.
7. See footnote 4.
8. Letter from John M. Bradford, Albany, September 28, 1810. In the possession of Mrs. Jenkins Burkholder, Montreal.

The duration of this mission is uncertain, but it must have been brief for letters from colleagues and friends indicate that he did not abandon the congregation at Oneida Castle but continued as pastor to the Oneida people until 1816.[9]

In that year he was sent on an exploratory mission to the Home District. During the year he travelled through the country on his small Indian pony, preaching in the area of Peterborough, Cobourg, Port Hope, Whitby, Scarboro, Markham, Whitchurch, Vaughan, New Market and West Gwillimbury. A warm reception greeted him wherever he went and he made many lasting friendships. Repeated stories tell of those early services, when the minister used a newly-cut tree stump for his pulpit and his congregation sat on the ground around him. Elated, the pioneers who had declared themselves "about to perish for lack of saving grace" listened to his exposition of the scriptures. It was as a result of this preaching and the petition of the Home District settlers that he came to Upper Canada.

In August 1817, Mr. Jenkins purchased 200 acres of land (Lot 27, Con. 5, of Markham Township) from Abraham Reamer and began construction of a fine frame house.[10] When this was completed he brought over his wife and children, and here a family of nine grew up. Congregations were quickly organized in Richmond Hill and Scarboro and the pastor's itinerant ministry was carried on. He had preaching stations in Cashel, Reesorville and Vaughan, and since he was the only Presbyterian minister in the large Home District, he was called to services further afield whenever the need arose.

The pine grove in which Mr. Jenkins preached his first sermon to the Richmond Hill congregation was chosen as the site of their first church. In 1818 willing inhabitants began the clearing. The ring of axe was followed by the thud of falling trees. Great logs were piled and left to dry. Burning of stumps began, but winter was upon them before the task was completed. In early spring the work recommenced. The logs were squared with adze and broad axe. Day by day the pile of finished beams grew. Each noon the bare-footed women ceased their share of labour to lay on the trestle tables great mounds of food to satisfy the hunger of the workers. It was not until 1821 that the work-party surveyed with satisfaction the fine two story building erected by their own hands. This was their church. Here, for the next quarter century, the old covenanter fed his flock.

On a winding road at the crest of a wooded ravine the St. Andrew's congregation of Scarboro were also building their church. (The spot is

9. Letters addressed to Mr. Jenkins at Oneida Castle 1809-1816. In the possession of James Ross Jenkins, Toronto.

10. An account with James Fenwick contains several references to the construction of the house, e.g. "to men getting out timber for house, hauling logs and rafters and shingles £3.4.0 (August 18, 1817) . . . to men at house work 16s.0 (September 2) . . . to 18 days boarding Mr. Forfar and carpenters £1.16.0 (September 20) . . . 5 pair hinges 7s.6d (October 4). In the possession of Mrs. Jenkins Burkholder, Montreal.

still a quiet sanctuary, hidden away in the midst of a throbbing industrial area of Canada's second largest city.) In 1819 the land was presented by David Thomson, first settler at Scarboro. The church was a small frame building furnished after the manner of the day. At the front a high pulpit was reached by steps. Under it was a precentor's desk. Small communion tables stood at either side of the pulpit, while a long table reached to the end of the room with pews placed at either side of it. A small gallery at the rear was reached by a stairway on the outside of the building. To this congregation Mr. Jenkins gave one-third of his time for fifteen years."[11]

Only a man of stamina could have accomplished the task of serving churches so far separated as those undertaken by the minister. Roads were mere ox-trails, bordered by impenetrable forest, through which ran the occasional bridle-path or Indian trail. Often the road was abruptly terminated by a settler's cabin, or the trail ran into bogs, which in a rainy season became an impassable swamp. Rivers must be forded and fallen trees circumvented. For years the minister endured the discomfort of such travel with surprising cheerfulness.

Now this man, who could battle with the wilderness, could also battle in defense of his convictions. With fiery eloquence he denounced such evils as drunkenness, disorderly conduct and immorality. An effective weapon which the minister used, on friend and foe alike, was his ready wit, samples of which have become almost legendary. The story is told that when a sleeping parishioner drowned his discourse with snores, he whacked the offender over the ear with his Bible, remarking, "If you'll not hear the word of God, then feel it." An even more famous story concerns an encounter with the Anglican Bishop of Toronto, who once had been his friend and classmate in a Presbyterian College in Scotland. Meeting on a street in York the bishop observed, "Your coat is looking pretty shabby, Willum." To which the quick retort, "Aye, but I've not yet turned it." Those who knew him best forgave his outbursts, seeing that other side of his nature, when with tenderness he comforted the bereaved and encouraged the sick. They remembered his readiness to help any in need who came to his door. But bitter reprisals came from unknown sources.

The Christian Guardian for June 20, 1832, contained a letter from the minister, telling of an attack, in which his horse was so brutally stabbed in several parts of his body, that it died an agonizing death a few days later. The minister states "This is not the first nor the fourth time I have been thus used for doing my duty since I came to Canada. If maintaining British rights, and vindicating the ways of God to man is to be thus treated in Canada, what vexation will it soon produce?"[12]

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11. See Boyle, D., *The Township of Scarboro,* 1796-1896 (Toronto, 1896), 137-139.
12. In the *Christian Guardian* of June 20, 1832, cited in Sissons, C.B., *Egerton Ryerson, His Life and Letters, Vol. I* (Toronto, 1937), 232.

In the early days Mr. Jenkins was one of the few ministers outside the Anglican clergy who had the authority to perform marriages. Consequently Methodists, Baptists, Mennonites and Quakers came to him to have that ordinance carried out. A private marriage register, kept by him, records 852 marriages, which with the names of witnesses who usually accompanied them, made a total of 3400 names.[13] This special role changed as the population increased and other denominations received similar recognition, but the warm regard of these people for the minister continued.

As the years passed, Mr. Jenkins, from being the sole representative of the Presbyterian Church in the Home District became one of a growing number of ministers. And so when the first Presbytery was formed in 1818 he asked dismissal from the Presbytery in Saratoga[14] in order to join with the Canadian group. This was granted by the New York Presbytery in 1819, and shortly afterward he became a member of the Presbytery of the Canadas, which in 1825 was dissolved and was replaced by the United Presbytery of Upper Canada. By 1831 the Auld Kirk group had organized the Synod of Scotland, and the United Synod of Upper Canada was formed under the sponsorship of the Secession Church of Scotland. This Synod was divided into two Presbyteries, with Mr. Jenkins being assigned to the Presbytery of York.

During these years the United Presbytery was repeatedly urged to co-operate with the Church of Scotland in an effort to secure some share in the Clergy Reserves, and from Montreal, on December 13, 1827, there came a letter asking Mr. Jenkins to support a petition to Parliament, and to gather signatures for this cause.[15] But Mr. Jenkins had no sympathy for this. Indeed, when in 1833 the United Synod received a grant of £700 from the Government of Upper Canada, Mr. Jenkins and Mr. Harris, the minister at York, refused the grant, and at a subsequent meeting of the Synod in June 1834, Mr. Jenkins protested the bounty and the proposed union with the Church of Scotland in the following Statement:

> The following reasons are submitted for declining the authority of the Synod— 1st. The Synod has practically laid aside some of those principles which I believe to be scriptural, and which they formerly vowed to God to adhere to. 2nd. I am of the opinion that they acted inconsistently with their former professions when they united as a body with the ministers of the Church of Scotland, in this Province, in their petition to Parliament for a share in the Clergy Reserves and National property. 3rd. They propose to unite with a Church after having often publicly declared that they believe it to be their duty to keep separate from her, and to testify against her corruptions and errors, and especially in consequence of the evils arising from her connection with the

13. See *Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records,* XXVII (1931), 15-76, article by A. J. Clark entitled: "Rev. William Jenkins of Richmond Hill."

14. Release from Saratoga Presbytery, Kortright, dated January 26, 1819. In the posssession of Mrs. Jenkins Burkholder, Montreal.

15. Letter from H. Eason, in the possession of Mrs. Jenkins Burkholder, Montreal.

state. 4th. Because in so joining with the civil powers you enter into confederacy with the Clergy and Churches throughout the world that are the support of tyranny and oppression.

In December 1834 a number of ministers from the Associate Secession Church met in Toronto to form the Missionary Presbytery of the Canadas. To this body Mr. Jenkins applied for membership, asking that his congregations be visited to ascertain their wishes in the matter. This investigation was carried out by William Proudfoot early in 1835 during the course of a tour of all the Secession Churches in the area, made jointly by Robert Christie and himself. It was found that Mr. Jenkins' congregations were in need of more supply than he could possibly give to them. Help was recommended in an attempt to strengthen them.[16]

A letter from M. M. Fraser, dated June 1, 1837, states, "Our Presbytery meets at London on the 21st inst. If you still have it in view to unite with us . . . . You can transmit your communication by mail to Mr. Proudfoot of London who is Clerk of Presbytery."[17] From Whitby, on December 10, 1837, Mr. R. H. Thornton wrote:

> I have had official communications from our Synod with minutes of their late proceedings . . . . We are fully authorized to receive into our connection congregations or ministers who fully assent to our principles, which includes the mode of government. I communicated with Mr. Christie soon after seeing you, and told him your intention and he thought I should let you know . . . the state in which we are now placed, so that you might be possessed of the necessary information to prepare the minds of your people in your different stations. We have reason to suppose that their principles are one, and that they are in every way disposed to follow you in this respect, . . . I have just received intimation of our meeting. . . . It takes place in Mr. Harris chapel, Dec 28th.[18]

Mr. Jenkins and his congregation were "received into the fellowship of the Secession Church at a meeting of the presbytery, 18th October, 1837."[19]

Today the thought of driving a high-powered car twenty miles to attend church service is protested by minister and member alike, yet every Sabbath the pioneer minister covered that distance on foot or by pony-back, in order to reach his scattered congregations. As more ministers became available, this effort was no longer necessary, and congregations receiving only part-time service were able to secure pastors of their own. And so the congregation at Scarboro, to which Mr. Jenkins had been able to devote only one-third of his time, in 1833 called as full-time pastor, the Reverend James George, a member of the Associate Reformed Church. Such expansion was accepted as necessary by Mr. Jenkins, but when in the following year the congregation followed Mr. George into Union with the Church of Scotland, the old man felt himself betrayed by those he had nurtured in the faith of the Secession Church. For him there could be no compromise. To the end he must reject that

16. Gregg, W., *History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada* (Toronto, 1885), 527.
17. Letter in the possession of Mrs. Jenkins Burkholder, Montreal.
18. Letter in the possession of Mrs. Jenkins Burkholder, Montreal.
19. Gregg, W., *op.cit.*, 515.

branch of the Church which allied itself with the State. In a letter dated only a few years before his death (February 23, 1840) he writes to his son: "The Auld Kirk Clergy have done their utmost to horn me out but my people stick fast to me. This mortifieth the bitter lickers very much. I am sorry for their pride and lifeless formality, and would be glad to see them more faithful to their ministerial duties. But alas the world seems their chief pursuit. Mammon is evidently the God they worship, while they profess to be servants of the Lord Jesus."[20]

Mr. Jenkins' strong convictions were not confined to the realm of the Church. Injustices brought about by the Family Compact and the Clergy Reserves drew him into the maelstrom of politics, and he joined a group known as Friends of Religious Liberty, who met together in an attempt to find a solution for some of the evils causing wide distress. When a committee was needed to prepare a petition to be sent to the Imperial Parliament, among those chosen for the task were Egerton Ryerson, Jesse Ketchum, Robert Baldwin, Dr. William Baldwin, William Smith, James Cawthra, William Lyon Mackenzie and William Jenkins.[21]

The time came when Mr. Jenkins could no longer align himself with the moderates in the Reform Cause, yet neither could he bring himself to follow his good friend William Lyon Mackenzie to the point of uprising. Stories are told of his continued denunciations of the Government, from his pulpit, in which his liberal friends rejoiced. It is said that after one such sermon, James Mustard walked out, upbraiding the minister and his Grit friends as "a pack of rebels." After the service, not even the encircling arm and affectionate reproach, "Ah, Tory Jamie, Tory Jamie," could placate the hurt and anger of the minister's life-long friend.

His son James Mairs Jenkins was accused of participation in the revolt, and when the militia were rounding up rebels in Markham township, he escaped only by hiding in a hogshead in the cellar during the search. Later he made his way to relatives in the United States. For the father, however, difficulties multiplied. In a letter to his son on October 17, 1839, he writes:

> This is a wretched country. They, the Torries, in favour of the Auld Kirk, have lately broke the windows of our schoolhouse and pulled down the chimney. I now hold meeting in my own house. They thought to prevent me preaching, but they have been disappointed. I am likely to have more to attend me than the old Tory Kirk will have to attend them, and that rarely vexes them. When shall justice among men be attended to? Yesterday a meeting was held on Yonge Street to give approbation to Lord Durham's Report, but a crowd of Tories armed with clubs attacked them and did much injury. One man is, they say, murdered, and many injured. How will things end God only knows, but they have a tremendous aspect to me. May order spring out of this confusion.[22]

Some of the old buoyancy was gone, but the minister's faith in God's promises still dominated his life. He found daily strength in the Family

20. Letter in the possession of Dr. James Alister Jenkins, Princeton, N.J.
21. Sissons, C.B., *op.cit.*, 129.
22. Letter in the possession of Dr. James Alister Jenkins, Princeton, N.J.

Worship, delighting to read from the Hebrew text, with his own free translation. One verse which he had passed on as comfort to others in the early days[23] seemed now to fit his own times, and was used as a text to a sermon: "If thou seest the oppression of the poor, and violent perverting of judgment and justice in a province, marvel not at the matter: for he that is higher than the highest regardeth; and there be higher than they." (Ecclesiastes, Chapter 5, Verse 8.)

Another great source of comfort was the loyalty of his congregation at Richmond Hill. He writes to his son of a gift from them which pleases him greatly.[24] Then, too, he found satisfaction in a letter from his old friend, "The Little Rebel", then making his home in Rochester, dated March 29, 1841:

To the Rev. W. Jenkins, Markham,

Dear Friend:

I would have often written to you but I thought it might do you harm, and I had not much good news to communicate. The elections, however, this far, please me much—not because they are all I could desire, but because they are so much better than I could have hoped for. I think I begin to see land in the midst of the ocean of trouble of the last few years.

I am in fine spirits, in excellent health, in good hopes, and could not resist the pleasure of writing these few lines to you to express my continued respect, and the satisfaction I have in hearing from you now and then—not by letter, for you have never written, but through strangers passing this way.

Remember me to Mrs. Jenkins, and your amiable and friendly family, and tell them I trust we shall yet meet in happier days.

Since I came to the United States I have got two fine Yonker boys—William, over two years old—and George, 6 weeks old. Neither of them is baptised—we wait for the opportunity of our old friend, Mr. Jenkins, to perform that interesting duty. He and I are alike in one respect, we haven't turned our coats yet.

I suppose the advertisement to exchange the farm in Markham for one in Western New York failed to produce buyers or barterers, and therefore you are where you were. Perhaps it is better so. Things will mend yet in Canada, and that not at a distant, but an early day.

I stopt my paper last December in the hopes it might have some good effect on the fate of the prisoners in that Canadian Algiers, Van Dieman's Land, but public and private advices show that was useless. England like Pharoah of old, will not let the people go.

That peace and prosperity may be your portion, and that you may receive the reward of your sincere and very disinterested labours, is the sincere wish of

Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

Wm. L. Mackenzie.[25]

Now the old man's health began to deteriorate rapidly. He had suffered since 1835 from a painful and recurrent malady but continued his work, often travelling miles in performance of his duty when he should

23. Mr. Jenkins' Journal (see footnote 4). Carruthers, J., *Retrospect of Thirty-Six Years Residence in Canada West* (Hamilton, 1861), 195, reports that the passage was used as a text during the rebellion year.

24. Letter dated February 23, 1840, in the possession of Dr. James Alister Jenkins, Princeton.

25. Letter in W. L. Mackenzie Papers, 1841—The Archives of Ontario, Toronto.

have been in bed. On August 19, 1841, he writes his son, "I am still poorly in health and able to do nothing on the farm at all."[26] For two years more he continued his ministry, refusing to give up, but when Presbytery met in Hamilton, July 26, 1843 he "intimated to them his inability to perform the duties of his office as formerly, owing to increasing infirmities of age, and desirous that they get another minister as soon as possible."[27] On September 10, 1843, he preached his last sermon, an admonition to his elders regarding the welfare of the church. A few days later he was laid to rest in the pine grove in which he preached his first sermon to his Richmond Hill congregation. The *Presbyterian Magazine* of November 1843 in a Memoir over the signature 'L' paid the following tributes to his memory:

> MEMOIR of the late William Jenkins, minister of the United Secession Congregation, Richmond Hill.
>
> Where there are now many congregations belonging both to the United Secession and the Church of Scotland, we must say he was the apostle who planted and others came and watered. . . . In fact he was the Presbyterian pioneer of this region of Canada and it may be doubted if there is one Presbyterian congregation within who's bonds this venerable man was not the first who preached the gospel. . . . He was a man of invincible integrity. You could not terrify him with threats, he would laugh at them; you could not buy him with gold for he would despise it. . . . His talents were decidedly of a high order. He was an excellent scholar and had he lived in more cultivated society in his early years he might have died with his name on the lists of theological fame. . . . There was united in him powerful talent, keen sarcasm and the simplicity of a child. . . . He laboured not for money. He laboured for souls. . . . Blessed are they which die in the Lord. . . . they may rest from their labours and their works do follow them.
>
> L.

26. Letter in the possession of Dr. James Allister Jenkins, Princeton.
27. Minutes of Presbytery Meeting, Hamilton, July 26, 1843.

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AN EARLY RECORD OF LAURA SECORD'S WALK

By John S. Moir

Over a quarter of a century has passed since the appearance of Dr. W. S. Wallace's small pamphlet, *The Story of Laura Secord: a study in historical evidence* (Toronto, Macmillan, 1932). If Dr. Wallace did not entirely "debunk" the Secord "myth", he at least threw grave doubts on the credibility of many of the details, and on the true importance of the episode for Canadian history in general and for national secular hagiography in particular. Dr. Wallace found the *fons et origo* of the Secord story of the prelude to the Battle of Beaver Dam in the financial objects of Mrs. Secord's two memorials to the government—that of 1839 which prayed for a lease of a ferry at Queenston on preferred terms, and the second of 1841 for a pension on account of the services of herself and of her lately deceased husband. Dr. Wallace is justifiably skeptical of the accumulated stories of Mrs. Secord's exploit, particularly as his earliest documentary evidence—Colonel FitzGibbon's testimony on behalf of Mrs. Secord in support of her petition of 1837—was written almost twenty-four years after the event, and as FitzGibbon confesses, "in a Moment of much hurry and from Memory". Dr. Wallace's primary evidence consists of FitzGibbon's certificate of 1837, of the two petitions of 1837 and 1841, and of Mrs. Secord's personal account, as first published in the *Anglo-American Magazine* in 1853.[1]

The points with which Dr. Wallace takes issue are three in number. First there is the question of time, the exact date of Mrs. Secord's perambulation being nowhere specified. Secondly there is the question of attendant circumstances—her passing through the American picket lines, and the later gloss about her cow and milk pail (now indispensible parts of Canadian folk lore and apparently considered essential parts of her disguise).[2] Finally, as to results, the question is simply, did the warning which Mrs. Secord brought to FitzGibbon really enable him to save Canada for the Crown, as our heroine so modestly suggests in her narrative of 1853?

Dr. Wallace points to the very confused chronology of Mrs. Secord's trip which might suggest that she did not reach FitzGibbon until after the battle. Further, according to the above documents, FitzGibbon took no defensive measures on the basis of Mrs. Secord's warning, supposing that she did in fact reach him before the battle. Therefore Dr. Wallace feels that "Mrs. Secord's claim that she enabled FitzGibbon to 'save the country' is too absurd for further discussion". He is convinced that Mrs.

1. This document is reprinted in E. Cruikshank's *Documentary History of the Campaign upon the Niagara Frontier in 1813* (Welland, n.d.), Part II, 127-8, along with the official reports on the engagement.

2. Currie, Emma A., *The Story of Laura Secord and Canadian Reminiscences* (St. Catharines, 1913), 48.

Secord's narrative "fails therefore by all the tests we have applied to it". But he does not reject the story as a fabrication:

> FitzGibbon's certificate would seem to establish beyond reasonable doubt that Mrs. Secord did "in the month of June, 1813" make an attempt to convey some information to the British troops at Beaver Dam; and it must be confessed that her picture of her encounter with the Indians has about it a strong air of verisimilitude. Of her courage and patriotism there is no question. But truth compels one to say that the story she told from memory in later years (and no doubt sincerely believed) was seriously at variance with the facts, and that she played no part in determining the issue of the battle at the Beaver Dam.[3]

The document appended hereto compels us, however, to reassess both the story of Laura Secord and Dr. Wallace's interpretation of the previously known documents. This earlier certificate, written in FitzGibbon's own hand, is to be found in Volume 84 of the Upper Canada Sundries in the Public Archives of Canada. It does not answer all the questions raised by Dr. Wallace—in fact it raises at least one new issue—but it does settle the problem of the date of Mrs. Secord's walk, of the success of her mission, and perhaps throws a more charitable light on the motives of the Secords in their recurrent pleas to the government for pecuniary relief. FitzGibbon does not mention the American pickets, or the hallowed cow and pail, nor Mrs. Secord's meeting with the loyal Indians, and these may be dismissed as accretions of later vintage. Further, FitzGibbon does not place the same explicit importance on the results of her action. But he does acknowledge his personal indebtedness, which may conceivably be interpreted as implicit recognition that she had some claim to share in the fame which he had acquired as a result of the victory at Beaver Dam. The most significant fact about this document is that it predates any of the hitherto known evidence by a decade, and so considerably narrows the time lag between the event and the record.

Two interesting points do arise from this statement by FitzGibbon. Although, as Dr. Wallace shows, the American operation orders were not issued at Fort George until the morning, or more probably the afternoon, of June 23, it is quite conceivable that the American plan for a surprise attack was common knowledge to the officers at Fort George. The fact that despite the precautions of secrecy the plan became known to the British is perhaps a mute commentary on the democratic spirit of the American militia who made up such a large part of Boerstler's force. Further, the encounter between the American force and the Indian scouts early on the 24th gave warning of the Americans' approach, and this new document suggests that the encounter resulted from FitzGibbon's defensive steps taken *after* the receipt of Mrs. Secord's warning. The belated arrival of FitzGibbon and his detachment of the 49th on the scene of battle suggests either that the trial of arms had commenced earlier

3. Wallace, W. S., *The Story of Laura Secord: a study in historical evidence* (Toronto, 1932), 25-6.

and at a more distant point than FitzGibbon had anticipated, or that the delay of one day by the Americans in putting their plan into operation had led him to doubt the veracity of Mrs. Secord's information.

The second point is that Mrs. Secord's "circuitous route" is given here as twelve miles—elsewhere in the primary material the distance is given as 19 or 20 miles. If Mrs. Secord did, as she says, leave her home "early in the morning" and reach FitzGibbon by moonlight, some explanation for her slow progress is required. The discrepancy in the distance may be explained by a confusion arising over Mrs. Secord's point of departure. If she left from St. David's a "circuitous route" of twelve miles is reasonable, if from Queenston the trip would be more than sixteen miles. A niece of Mrs. Secord asserts that her aunt left Queenston before sunrise, stopped at the home of her mother-in-law in St. David's, and then proceeded via St. Catharine's to FitzGibbon's camp.[4] This would account for a walk of approximately 20 miles following the then-existing roads and paths as shown on the contemporary map reprinted by Wallace. FitzGibbon apparently assumes that Mrs. Secord had commenced her walk at St. David's. Assuming that these two versions are compatible, not only the discrepancy in distance is explained, but also the temporal length of the journey, for Mrs. Secord would obviously stop with her relatives at St. David's to refresh herself.

We still face the contradiction of FitzGibbon's statements about the time that the warning was delivered. In his official report he says he was warned about 7 a.m. on the 24th. In the following document he states that Mrs. Secord reached him on the 22nd. FitzGibbon was by nature ambitious, and he may have felt no obligation to share the honours of victory when he sat down to pen his official report. It is regrettable that the flower of Canadian womanhood and patroness of the national confectionery industry cannot be completely vindicated, but in fact this new document seems to confound rather than clarify confusion.

PAC, U.C. Sundries, v. 84, (R.G. 5, A 1)

York 11th May 1827

I do hereby Certify that on the 22d. day of June 1813, Mrs. Secord, Wife of James Secord, Esqr. then of St. David's, came to me at the Beaver Dam after Sun Set, having come from her House at St. David's by a circuitous route a distance of twelve miles, and informed me that her Husband had learnt from an American officer the preceding night that a Detachment from the American Army then in Fort George would be sent out on the following morning (the 23rd.) for the purpose of Surprising and capturing a Detachment of the 49th Regt. then at the Beaver Dam under my command. In Consequence of this information I placed the Indians under Norton together with my own Detachment in a Situation

4. Currie, Emma A., *op.cit.*, 48-9, 50.

to intercept the American Detachment, and we occupied it during the night of the 22d.—but the Enemy did not come until the morning of the 24th when his Detachment was captured.

Colonel Boerstler, their commander, in a conversation with me confirmed fully the information communicated to me by Mrs. Secord, and accounted for the attempt not having been made on the 23rd. as at first intended.

The weather on the 22d. was very hot, and Mrs. Secord whose person was slight and delicate appeared to have been and no doubt was very much exhausted by the exertion She made in coming to me, and I have ever since held myself personally indebted to her for her conduct upon that occasion, and I consider it an imperative duty on my part humbly and earnestly to recommend her to the favourable consideration of His Majesty's Provincial Government.

I beg leave to add that Mrs. Secord and her Family were entire Strangers to me before the 22d. of June 1813, her exertions therefore could have been made from public motives only.

[signed] James FitzGibbon

[Endorsed] Mrs. Secord. 11 May 1827.

Brock's Monument

[Minute by John Beverley Robinson, undated.] . . . I think it right to state the following facts which I happen to be aware of. In 1827 Mr. Secord was an applicant for some situation which His Exly. Sir. P. Maitland did not find it convenient to give him, and His Exly. having a favourable opinion of the character claims of Mr. Secord & his wife suggested to her that when the Monument was completed she might have the charge of it under the Govt. I imagine the suggestion proceeded entirely from the Lt. Govr. & that it had not entered into the mind of Mr. & Mrs. Secord to apply for it. I understand that Mrs. Secord declined it, but I am perhaps wrong in thinking so. However it seems the charge was not given to her at the time & I recollect that Col Clark the only surviving Commissr. (now absent) several times afterwards spoke of it in my presence, and seemed disappointed that the offer shd. have been made to Mrs. Secord, as he had in his own mind intended to have proposed Mrs. Nichol the widow of Col. Nichol one of the Commissrs. (who has been left under very destitute circumstances) to be the person for taking charge of the monument & receiving whatever perquisites might arise from it. I do not know whether this wish of Col. Clark's induced Sir P. Maitland to alter his intention.

Jhn B Robinson.

News of local historical societies' activities is most appreciated and will be published as far as space allows.

THE LOUTH HARBOUR SHIPPING COMPANY

By Barbara Coffman

Tucked away in an old linseed and licorice lozenge tin at the William Fretz homestead at the Pond, was a pile of old papers. Some of them were 126 years old; others a mere 98. Having come into the possession of the late William Fretz, secretary of the defunct Jordan Shipping Company, the papers tell the story of the fortunes and misfortunes of an earlier shipping organization, the Louth Harbour Company. Formed when the community was still very young and feeling its way cautiously into the competitive world of big business, the Louth Company's story is that of the progress and development of a pioneer community. Some of the most interesting contents of the lozenge tin were on display at the Jordan Historical Museum of the Twenty as part of the 1958 season's feature exhibit dealing with early shipping.[1]

It was in the early thirties of the last century that a few men in the vicinity of the Twenty began to see a bright future in the traffic constantly shuttling back and forth across the lake. And in this future they saw some possibilities of personal gain as well as community benefits. This was especially true of the settlers whose property bordered on the lake front or the Twenty Mile Creek. Noticing a steady increase in the number of ships entering the large natural harbour at the mouth of the Twenty they began to dream of prosperity in the form of a shipping business capable of drawing trade from miles around and one attracting big boats from many ports. One of these was Isaac Wismer, owner of the farm on the lake now owned by Prudhomme's Garden Centre Hotel. As he gradually left more and more of the work of the farm to his seven sons, Isaac grew more engrossed in a retail business that he had begun years earlier. Now he had visions of the day when the Twenty harbour would be sufficiently improved to attract a wide business, and he would be able to retire to his dream house in the village, the house that is now the main building of the Jordan Historical Museum.

Others who became actively interested in a shipping company were well known Loyalist settlers: James W. O. Clark, George H. Kerr, Jacob and Henry Snure, George Ball, Abraham and James Secord, William Bradt, and also Isaac Wismer's sons John and Philip. These are among the thirty-odd names appearing on the earliest list of subscribers to the proposed company. In order to get the ball rolling, a little cash was necessary. And so in September of 1832 a small group of men set out to visit the farmers in the area in order to interest them in stock in a proposed company and to solicit funds for incidental initial expenses. A list of subscribers shows that contributions to this fund varied from 2/6 to 10

1. Unless otherwise stated, all material presented below is based upon the papers of the Louth Harbour Shipping Company now in possession of the family of the late William Fretz, R.R. 1, Jordan.

shillings. It also showed that "monies subscribed and not paid" amounted to exactly £2.0.0.

Having secured the promise of good backing from the community, an application was immediately made for a charter. The application appears in the Journals of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada for the session of 1832-3, page 26, as follows: "The Petition of James W. O. Clark and sixty-five others, of the District of Niagara, praying to be incorporated under the stile and title of the Twenty Mile Creek Harbor Company, with authority to erect a Harbor at the mouth of said Creek, and that the same may be made a Port of Entry."

After a thorough airing by special committees of the Commons and Legislative Council, a bill granting a charter was brought in about the middle of January and given Royal assent February 13, 1833. The name of the company was changed to Louth Harbour Company and the charter members named were James William Osgoode Clark, George Henry Kerr, James Secord, Peter Ware, John Wismer, Cyrus Culp, Isaac Overholt.[2]

The charter granted them the privilege of constructing the harbour, erecting the necessary piers, etc., and also empowered them to contract with owners and occupiers of any land through which they might have to cut to construct the said harbour.

The following scale of tolls was approved:

Pot and pearl ashes per bbl.	0.0.6
Pork whiskey, salt, beef, lard, per bbl.	4½
Flour per bbl.	2
Lard and butter in bbl.	3
in kegs	1
Wheat per 60 lbs.	1
Merchandise per bbl. in bulk	6
per 100 wt.	2
Boards and lumber per 1000 ft. board measure	1.3
Pipe staves per M.	7.6
West Indies staves per M	2.6
Boats under 12 tons	1.3
Boats and vessels over 12 tons and under 50	5.0
Boats and vessels 50 tons and up	7.6

The constitution called for seven directors to be elected by ballot and to hold office for one year, a director to be a stockholder with four shares. No meeting was to be held until £2,000 were subscribed. Capital stock was set for £5,000. Shares were to be sold at £6.5.0. Within fifty years, its improvements were to become government property.[3]

The project moved slowly at first. Until the granting of the charter little could be done, but an engineer was called in to survey the situation and to help plan the installations of the future port. For these services he received £6/5s. from the incidental fund.

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2. See *Statutes of Upper Canada,* 3 William IV (1833), Chap. 33 "An Act to Incorporate a Joint Stock Company, for the construction of a Harbour at the mouth of the Twenty Mile Creek, on Lake Ontario."

3. *Ibid.*

The first minutes found among the Fretz papers tell of a directors' meeting held December 23, 1834 at the home of G. H. Kerr, directors present being James W. O. Clark, Jacob Snure, James Secord, Philip and John Wismer. Clark had been elected president at an earlier meeting and continued in this capacity as long as the company existed. In 1835 he was elected both president and secretary at a salary of £12/10s. currency per annum.

At this December meeting a motion was passed authorizing Clark and Kerr to consult W. J. Kerr regarding property at the Twenty occupied by a certain Arnache Monette. Since this transaction entailed a correspondence with the Department of Indian Affairs, it is probable that this particular property was claimed by Indians and that permission for its use had to come from the Six Nations Indian Council. Since the Harbour Company was very anxious to acquire the property a delegation was appointed to go to Toronto and treat with the trustees at Toronto in the event that they could not make the necessary arrangements with Kerr. G. H. Kerr submitted a bill for 15 shillings for the trip to W. J. Kerr's home as well as accounts including 15 shillings for 2 days of "Going to the beach"; and £1.39.9 for 4½ days of "collecting installments".

According to the minutes of a meeting the following summer, June 1835, 86 feet of land was donated to the company by Isaac Wismer from his property on the west side of the Harbour.

The job of erecting piers for the Harbour was given to Jacob and Henry Snure and William Bradt. Their agreement, which was one of the items displayed at the Museum, states that they "Agree to frame and sink 480 feet of piers at the Louth Harbour". The dimensions and explicit directions for the piers follow.

In March the directors decided that the time had arrived to commence actual building operations. Consequently the secretary was instructed to insert a notice in the Farmer's Journal, St. Catharines, to the effect that the different jobs given out in the fall were to be commenced immediately, and also that payments were to be made by those who were behind with their first instalments. Since this notice apparently was ignored by some members it was decided at the next meeting that the president should make personal calls upon recalcitrant stockholders. By September it was evident to the directors that it would be impossible to raise sufficient money locally to complete the job at the Harbour as it should be done. Stockholders paid up slowly, and a great deal more was needed before the young company could hope for any appreciable returns in the form of revenue.

The matter was thoroughly discussed and it was decided to apply to parliament at the next session for a loan of £1,500, notice to be given in the Upper Canada Gazette. The contractors for the piers were to be given the remainder of the money left in the treasury, $210, to complete the payment of $550 for their labour. G. H. Kerr and John Wismer were

hired to remove the sand between the piers to a depth of two feet. How they were to do the job is not stated, but payment was to be £50 in stocks.

It was January before the petition to parliament was drawn up ready for signatures and hopefully sent on its way to the Hon. George Rykert. At the last minute the directors decided they might stand a better chance by asking for only £1,000. Hence the appeal read: "Whereas said president and directors have expended £1,000 and whereas work when completed being considered one which will prove of great utility to that part of the country in which it is situated and of safety and convenience to the shipping interest of the lake trade generally, it is expedient to loan to the said company the sum of £1,000."

It is evident that the directors were not too optimistic about the outcome of the appeal, for several months later they appointed Clark and Jacob Snure to try to negotiate a loan for £1,000 through banking agencies in the district.

In the meantime work at the harbour continued. A road to the landing place was on the agenda for the spring of '36, and Jacob Snure and G. H. Kerr were ordered to attend to the surveying. It was also decided that spring that the piers would be too small, and so the Messrs. Snure received a contract to build an additional 50 feet to the piers.

It was welcome news to the financially-embarrased directors that their request for a loan had been granted by the legislature.[4] But when several months passed with no further word from the Receiver General they became apprehensive, deciding they should have written proof of the government's promise in the form of a manuscript copy of the bill. The president was delegated to send for a copy. At the same time he was requested to "obtain such information as may be necessary for the issue of debentures for the whole or part of the money if it is not soon to be obtained from the Receiver General's office."

On the strength of the promised loan plans were made for further extensions to the piers, extending them south to the south side of the bridge. Isaac Wismer was appointed to superintend the west pier and John Wismer the east, subject to the inspection and direction of the directors. Stockholders were to be permitted to work on the project "in payment of their stock, so far as it may go."

As the summer passed and work went on, many small boats called at the docks, but the harbour was not yet suited to the needs of the larger vessels. Some dredging and a little more work on the piers would be all that was necessary to bring in the big ones,—if only the government would produce the promised money!

Gradually it became clear to the little group at the Twenty that the money would probably not arrive, since government affairs were at

4. *Statutes of Upper Canada*, 7 William IV, First Session (1837), Chap. 47 "An Act granting a Loan to the Louth Harbour Company, in the Niagara District," passed on March 4, 1837, authorized the province to borrow £1,000 which could then be loaned to the company at 6% interest to be applied towards completion of the harbour.

the time in quite a troubled state due to the severe depression and the political disturbances connected with the activities of a certain William Lyon Mackenzie. It also became clear that with their own pockets cleaned out and money from private sources unobtainable, their position was hopeless.

In December the directors passed a motion that a settlement be made with the contractors. Jacob Snure and John Wismer were given a promissory note for £255 and five shillings currency, to be paid out of the first money to come into the hands of the treasurer. As to the future of the company the outlook was grim. No definite date was set for another meeting. The directors simply adjourned till notice be given to meet again. For the next few years very few meetings are recorded although annual meetings for the election of officers were held each year until 1842. Apparently some work was carried on at the piers, since a bill submitted by John Wismer in 1841 calls for payment for labour and cords of stone during '38 and '39.

From the rough draft of a letter intended for the Department of Works it appears that the company eventually gave up the struggle, but before that another valiant effort was made to win some government help to prevent their investment from becoming a total loss. It also gives a clear picture of the situation at the Twenty in the early '40's, showing that shipping continued even though the company remained inactive. The letter lacks the name of the author or the addressee, but a few lines written on the back of some notes accompanying the letter state, "Minutes of a report to the Board of Works." The letter follows:

My dear sir;

From the shortness of time since seeing you on the subject of the Louth Harbour it has been quite out of my power to obtain such positive information with reference to the exports and imports at the place for the current year as I could have desired. Its not yet being a port of entry, the only source of such information must be from private individuals, not always the most easily obtained. I however send you a statement of the affairs of the Louth Harbour which may be depended upon as very nearly correct.

Whole amount expended by the late Louth Harbour Company about £1500.0.0;

Amount yet required to pay the debts and finish the same, about £1500.0.0; the debts of the late Company about £700; the remaining sum of £800 it is thought will take the piers 480 feet in the lake as at first intended to a depth of 13 feet water. For a half mile above the piers in the Twenty Mile pond (so called) the water is from 12 to 14 feet deep and in that space the pond is from one half to three quarters of a mile wide, forming a complete and secure harbour.

In case the piers were finished goods would be landed there for Jordan, Beamsville, Smithville, Gainsborough village and partially for Grimsby, at each of which places goods to a large amount are annually sold, and of course, considerable quantities of farmers' produce received in exchange would every year be sent there by way of the harbour. About 4,000 barrels of flour have been shipped from Louth Harbour the present year which business no doubt will very much increase. However, aside from all these considerations I would submit whether a safe, easy of access and commodious harbour on the coast

only about four and a half miles above the mouth of the Welland canal might not prove of vital importance to the shipping interest of the lake trade, and indeed place it far above secondary consideration as for instance, a craft should be making for Port Dalhousie, the wind strong from the north east, she should by some casualty miss that port it would perhaps be next to impossible to put about either for that port or the Niagara River and would be in great danger of being lost. Then sir, here is a port worthy of being called such in consequence of vessels already having run in there when they could neither make Port Dalhousie or the Niagara River . . . Surely the saving of one vessel and cargo, or one life is far above the small sum of £1500.

It was upon these considerations that the late parliament of Upper Canada granted to the Louth Harbour Company a loan of £1000 for the purpose of finishing the same, which unfortunately the disturbed state of the Province directly after prevented our ever getting, or I feel quite sure that before this we would be receiving. Some return for the outlay is of infinitely greater moment than any sum that would yet be required to finish the same.

When a number of the directors of the old company got together in 1853 and decided to make a new attempt to make the shipping business pay, a new threat to their success already loomed on the horizon. The Great Western Railway had built a line from Niagara Falls to Toronto. Besides offering competition, there was a more direct danger to local shipping in the form of a railway bridge which would obstruct navigation to sailing vessels. The original bridge built by the company apparently permitted some harbour traffic, but there was talk of a new and permanent bridge that would clearly be a menace.

Fearing the results of such a move the township council sent several letters to company officials in 1852:

To J. T. Gilkson Esq. August 28, 1852

Sir—I am in receipt of your letter of the 26th and laid the same before the council of the township.

The council is aware that the present structure across the Twenty Mile pond is only temporary and the navigation not impeded thereby. But they would call the attention of the Great Western Railway Company to the permanent structure about to be built by the Company. From reports submitted to this council they fear it will prevent navigation of said waters by schooners which have been within a short distance of the village of Jordan frequently this season. The council hopes that no obstruction will be put up to prevent the navigation of said waters by schooners or any other craft that can navigate the said waters.

I have the honour to be

Your obedient servant,
W. Adams,
Reeve, Township of Louth

In December he wrote again: "I fail to discover how the permanent structure will be of sufficient width and height to admit navigation of the creek, as vessels of 150 tons have frequently navigated the creek, and schooners come under the bridge. A height of 40 feet is more than I can conceive. The council hopes the Great Western Railway Company will enquire into the matter more fully."

In spite of the railway threat James W. O. Clark, Philip, John and Daniel Wismer, Jacob Snure and William Bradt met in January 1853

and decided to revive the Louth Harbour Company. Shipping was good, they reasoned. The country was growing and increased population meant increased trade. Why shouldn't their company cash in on the business and win something from their old investments?

But first of all it was necessary to look into the matter of their charter. Had they a right to operate under the old charter or would it be necessary to renew it? Their first business was to pass a motion authorizing the secretary to make application to parliament to clarify their status. That matter settled, they went ahead with more practical matters. Jacob Snure had in his possession a list of the shareholders who were to be advised of proceedings and notified of an annual meeting to be held according to the constitution, in May. The town hall was designated as the place of the meeting. Jacob Snure was appointed to the board of directors in place of Isaac Wismer who had died in 1848.

A matter of immediate concern to the company was the necessity of providing a new bridge at the mouth of the Harbour. The motion passed at a meeting in February stated:

> That a bridge be built at such a place as the directors shall determine upon, near the old crossing at the mouth of the harbour with the funds appropriated by the township council and such additional amount as may be required to finish the same to be furnished by the company and to be completed by the 15th of June next; and that it be built according to plans submitted by Israel Jenkins with the exception of the width which is only to be 10 feet, for the building of which proposals will be received from such persons as are willing to contract for the same on Saturday, the 12th day of March next, at the town hall in Jordan at the hour of 2 o'clock, at which time and place proposals will also be received for driving 24 piles and putting up guards sufficient for the protection of the said bridge and that a sufficient number of notices be put up by the secretary.

Four men entered the race for the bridge contract. Jacob Snure made the first proposal at £200, but competition forced a gradual lowering of the bid to £154. Other bids were received from William Bradt, James Clark and a Mr. Wells. Snure also obtained the contract for the guards.

But the bridge was not completed by June 15, and it turned out to cost £295, almost double the original contract price. The matter was brought to the attention of the directors at a meeting the following winter when the extra expense of the more substantial and costly bridge was approved and the directors agreed to assume the added expense. This was the swing bridge which many residents of the community will remember as surviving down to the late 1930's.

It was in the spring of 1855 that the directors decided to look into the matter of proper dredging for the harbour. They heard of a dredge available at Wilson, N.Y., and delegated Jacob Snure to go to Wilson to examine the outfit and see what arrangements could be made with the owner, Luther Wilson. A letter from Mr. Wilson, dated June 8, offered the dredge for sale at $1,000, or a half interest in it at $700. Should they wish to buy it he promised to have it delivered to them by August 15.

If they decided on the half interest it was to be understood that Louth Company would bring the dredge to Jordan at their own risk and expense and that it would be returned to Wilson when required at Wilson's risk and expense. Each company using it was to keep it in good repair.

After considerable deliberation the Louth directors decided to buy the equipment outright so as to have it available whenever needed. However when it failed to arrive at the stated time they grew uneasy and immediately wrote to Luther Wilson claiming damages to their business. At their September meeting Snure was ordered to go to Wilson, N.Y., to ascertain the state of the dredge, to settle damages due the company for its not having become available according to agreement, and to make further arrangements for its transfer to Louth Harbour.

That fall the state of affairs looked gloomy to the struggling little company. The harbour remained undredged, receipts were slim, stockholders remained in arrears and besides, the railway was now in actual operation, and its bridge was obstructing much of the traffic that formerly made its way up stream to wharves below Jordan. Gallantly and in fighting mood they decided to attack these obstacles, starting with the stockholders. A resolution passed in November called for a sale of all stock remaining unpaid by the 10th of the month. Notices to this effect were sent to subscribers and posted about town. The date for the sale was set for January 1, but subsequently it was changed to May 3.

At a meeting on the 17th of the month they attacked the railway problem by passing a motion "that Richard Miller, Esq., attorney at law, be instructed to give notice to the Great Western Railway Company that the Louth Harbour Company claims damages from them for the obstruction of the navigation by the erection of the permanent bridge built by their company across the Twenty Mile Creek, and if that notice is not attended to in proper time to commence a prosecution." Surely, they thought, that should be good for a few thousand pounds. Apparently the notice was ignored, for a few months later they took the first steps toward legal action by setting their claim for damages at £5,000.

One hundred and one shares of stock, representing the holdings of 23 members of the company, were offered for sale at the town hall on May 3, 1856. Some owners had paid as much as half the value of the stock, but most had made only small payments. The directors were hopeful of taking in some cash that day, and promised one month's credit to the would-be buyers. But the treasurer's neatly-written report tells the story of lack of confidence in the venture and of blasted hopes on the part of the directors. For in the column marked "Purchaser's Name, and amount offered for shares," Philip Wismer found it necessary to write the discouraging words, "no bids" twenty-three times.

In spite of this setback the directors went ahead with plans for a better season and optimistically revised their scale of tolls. Although most charges remained unchanged they decided that a reduction in tonnage

charges might encourage the visits of larger vessels. The new scale called for a payment of 2/6 for vessels over 12 tons and under 50, instead of 5 shillings; and a reduction from 7/6 to 5 shillings for boats and vessels 50 tons and up.

But in order to permit the entrance of larger vessels into the harbour a dredging job was imperative that year. And so negotiations were begun once more with Luther Wilson of Wilson, N.Y., and a letter dated July 12, 1856 states:

> The Louth Harbour Company have concluded to hire your dredge upon the terms offered by you to Messers John Wismer and Jacob Snure, that is to say, ten dollars per day, kept in repair at your expense, and would like to hear from you the earliest time the company can get it, of course in good working order. And as they expect to make arrangements either to get a propeller coming up from Oswego to call for it or a steamer to go purposely they must be informed correctly of the time it will be ready. It is also the wish of the company to keep it when here for the whole season, say until next spring, by paying for the time it is used, by which they will save the expense of moving it often to and from Wilson.

From the scant records that have survived, no more is learned concerning the dredge until the following summer, 1857, when at the June meeting the secretary was ordered to write to Wilson to ascertain whether the dredge was ready and if so, D. H. Moyer and John Wismer were to superintend its removal to Jordan. At that meeting the directors decided on a toll of 20c per 100 feet for blocks of stone, and 15c per cord for coursing stone.

According to a receipt form, the dredge was towed from Wilson to Jordan by A. Reid. On its arrival at the Twenty Harbour a formal receipt was written by the secretary Philip Wismer, signed by the president, J. W. O. Clarke, and sent off to Wilson:

> Received, August 21st 1857 of Luther Wilson of Wilson, Niagara County, State of New York, one harbour dredge (known as the Osgoode pattern, propelled by horse power) in good working order, and well conditioned which we hereby agree to deliver to the said Luther Wilson in like good order and condition, the usual and necessary wear excepted, at the port of Wilson, N.Y., when requested by the said Wilson, if in the season of lake navigation, and we also agree to pay the said Luther Wilson ten dollars for each and every day the dredge is used while in our possession, upon the delivery of the dredge or upon demand being made for the amount.

The dredge was put to work that summer. Just how many days it was used, or how well it worked records fail to show. But one day, to the consternation of all concerned, the dredge sank. Frantically they worked to raise the outfit, but to no avail. Greatly embarrassed, the secretary wrote to Luther Wilson to tell him what had happened, and to assure him that they would continue their efforts. But late in October he was forced to write again: "I have been directed to inform you that two attempts have already been made to raise the dredge which have proved unsuccessful. We expect soon to make another trial, but it is doubtful whether any work can be done with it this fall as it is getting late and the weather cold."

5. *St. Catharines Standard,* June 30, 1939, article by Don Sinclair.

How long the dredge remained submerged is not clear. Only a few scraps of information remain to finish the story of both the dredge and the company. On October 17, 1859 the company was billed for $45 by the owner of the propeller *H. O. Perry* for towing the dredge from Jordan to Wilson. In March 1860, Philip Wismer paid John Wismer $60 for his services in raising the dredge and towing it to Wilson. In August he wrote out a receipt for himself for $15, "being for time in getting away dredge in the fall of '59."

The last directors' meeting recorded took place March 20, 1858, with J. W. O. Clark, D. H. Moyer, Henry, John and Philip Wismer present. John Wismer was directed to make any necessary repairs to the piers, and a motion was passed that saw logs or other timber or lumber not passing through between the piers should be exempt from the payment of tolls.

Possibly an account book showing receipts from the business might reveal a brighter side of the Company's fortunes. No doubt there were many entries such as the one statement found among the papers in the old lozenge box. This was made out to the company by the Messrs. Moyer and Ralph, October 25, 1857. It shows them owing the company $239.23 for shipping 23,923 bushels of wheat; $11.72 interest; a credit of $7.79 for lumber, leaving a balance of $243.16. Lacking more evidence we can only conclude that dividends to the shareholders were very slim, and that financial difficulties eventually caused the dissolution of the business venture.

Shipping, however continued at the Twenty and the harbour remained a busy port for the next half century. Vessels of all sizes and descriptions called regularly, delivering goods and picking up produce. And for many years, too, repair jobs were carried on at the harbour, using good Jordan mud to caulk gaping seams.

During the last half of the century even shipbuilding was undertaken at the harbour. The Hog's Back on the west side of the pond above the railway bridge was the site of the launching of the *Flying Dutchman,* thought to be the last boat built at Jordan. The schooner was owned by Moses Overholt and built by Richard Gilbert, according to Robert Thomas' register of Lake shipping, 1864. The *Flying Dutchman* was built in 1862, after the erection of the first railway bridge and so was floated under the bridge without masts, and rigged on the other side.

Probably the biggest rush in the shipping business came in the seventies when wheat prices soared subsequent to the Franco-Prussian war. Wheat was the main produce of the area at this time and the tempting offer of $2.40 per bushel brought farmers from miles around to the harbour with all the wheat they could possibly spare from their storage bins. From as far away as Smithville they came, bringing their wheat to Jacob Moyer's warehouse at the harbour. At the height of the season it was a common sight to see two long lines of teams on each side of the harbour waiting to unload.[5]

A sequel to the story of the Louth Harbour is the story of the Jordan Harbour Company, organized at the turn of the century by local growers interested in efficient marketing and fast transportation for perishable fruit. Some of the key men of this company were W. S. Duncan, S. H. Rittenhouse, E. W. Fry and the secretary, William Fretz. At this time Jordan Harbour became the port of call for the Dominion Express Company and the main export was fruit. During the season vessels such as the *Tymon* and *Northumberland* called daily to pick up consignments of fruit and deliver it along a route extending from Hamilton to Montreal. But increasing costs of upkeep, especially the continual dredging required to keep the harbour in shape for larger vessels, eventually caused local growers to give up shipping in favour of rail transport. It is said that the last boat to pick up freight at the Jordan docks was the *Tymon* in 1912.

JESSE T. RULEY

It is with sincere regret that we report the death on September 25th, 1958, of Jesse T. Ruley, B.A., immediate past-president of Lundy's Lane Historical Society, long a member of the Ontario Historical Society, an active worker in the field of local history and a writer who contributed much of permanence to the history of the Niagara Peninsula.

Mr. Ruley was born in Muncie, Indiana, in 1885, graduated as Bachelor of Arts from DePauw University in 1910 and came to Niagara Falls in 1915. In 1945 he published a book titled, "150 Years on Lundy's Lane". For the Golden Jubilee of Niagara Falls, 1954, he wrote the story of the city from its inception in 1904. At the annual meeting of the Ontario Historical Society in 1956 he presented a valuable paper, "Along the Four Mile Creek", subsequently published in *Ontario History,* Volume 48. Through membership in Lundy's Lane United Church, whose long history dates back to the Old Red Meeting House, he became interested in early church history, and at the time of his death was chairman of the Archives Committee of the United Church for both the Niagara Presbytery and the Hamilton Conference. He was adopted into the Mohawk Indian Nation in 1955 and given the name, "Lo-nc-goh-lo-was-ne", a name meaning "He has a large mind". Mr. Ruley is survived by his wife, Edna Lowrey Ruley.

—Louis Blake Duff.

Members who have still not remitted their fees for 1959 are urged to mail them to the Secretary-Treasurer without delay. If our total membership is to increase over last year's everyone must put forth an effort to secure new members for our Society. We hope that each reader will make a point of encouraging one or more persons known to be interested in local history to join the Ontario Historical Society.

RADCLIFFE COLLEGE SUMMER INSTITUTE

The sixth annual summer Institute on Historical and Archival Management will be offered by Radcliffe College, with the co-sponsorship of the Department of History of Harvard University, during the six weeks, June 29 through August 7, 1959.

Lawrence W. Towner, Editor of the *William and Mary Quarterly* at the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, and Associate Professor and Director of Graduate Studies in History at the College of William and Mary, will direct the course.

Designed for college graduates who are interested in a career in archival, museum and historical society work, the course is also open to employees of institutions in these related fields.

Students will devote full time to the study of archival and historical resources and their relation to the interpretation of history; and they will visit representative manuscript and archival depositories, historical societies, museums, and historic sites and buildings in the area of greater Boston. The staff will consist of eighteen or more experts in these fields.

The class will be limited to fifteen and will be conducted as a seminar. Those completing the course satisfactorily will receive a certificate signed by President W. K. Jordan of Radcliffe and Dr. Towner.

Two full-tuition scholarships of $200 each are available. Inquiries should be addressed to the Institute, 10 Garden Street, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

SEMINARS ON AMERICAN CULTURE, COOPERSTOWN, N.Y.

A brochure has been received from Frederick L. Rath, outlining the interesting programme of the twelfth annual Seminars on American Culture to be held at Cooperstown during the weeks of July 5 to 11 and July 12 to 18, 1959. Several programmes are presented so that persons may enrol for one or both weeks and choose subjects of their particular interest. These include lectures and discussion of American folk songs and folk tales, problems of pioneer group adjustment, genealogical research, conservation of paintings and museum objects, junior historical activities. Both seminars will utilize the facilities of the Farmers' Museum and the Village Crossroads Museum at Cooperstown to offer practical instruction in pioneer arts. Registration fees, including lunches, are $45 for one week and $75 for the two weeks to non-members of the New York State Historical Association, and $40 and $70 to members.

Persons interested in attending the seminars at Cooperstown should secure copies of the brochure, which includes a registration form, by writing to Mr. Louis C. Jones, Director, New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, New York.

THE EARLY YEARS OF THE TUNKERS IN UPPER CANADA

By E. Morris Sider

The Tunkers originated as a religious group around 1780 in Pennsylvania where because of their being settled along the valley of the Susquehanna River, they received the name of River Brethren. Few documents accurately recording their early history survive. It is known, however, that the founders—whose leader was Jacob Engle and among whom was Hans (John) Winger—were of German extraction and possibly largely of Mennonite background. After having studied their Bibles together in their homes they came to the conclusion that baptism as revealed by the Holy Scriptures should be by trine immersion. Upon the refusal of the ministers of the surrounding area to baptize them in this fashion they baptized themselves and began their own small sect.[1]

True to the spirit of the day the River Brethren had founded their organization only a few years when their faith began to spread into new territory, into the infant colony of Upper Canada. The reasons for their coming will probably never be definitely known since there are so few records from these years. However, a few assumptions regarding their motives in coming to Upper Canada are permissible.

The principle of nonresistance was from the beginning one of the distinct doctrines of the River Brethren. British rule and institutions at this time offered greater security and tolerance for persons who held such beliefs, especially when it is remembered that the new country of the United States had been born because of a military struggle. Possibly the early members of this Church had nothing to do with the military struggle, became suspect of having Tory sympathies, and in consequence suffered abuse from their neighbours. But such abuse could not have been great, for there was no wholesale immigration to Canada by the River Brethren.

Economic privileges and opportunities offered by a new country were perhaps a likelier reason for immigration to Upper Canada. The attraction of the frontier, with the chance to carve out a new life under what appeared to be good prospects, must have been strong. In fact, so encouraging were these opportunities that the migration to Upper Canada from the United States after the Revolutionary War assumed the proportions of a "wave". And included within this wave were some of the first members of the River Brethren.

It must be established that the first members of this group in Upper Canada were not United Empire Loyalists as has often been erroneously believed, particularly by some present-day members. As Professor James J. Talman points out in *Loyalist Narratives from Upper Canada,* to be

1. For a fuller account of the origin of this group see Asa W. Climenhaga, *The History of the Brethren in Christ Church* (Napanee: E. V. Publishing House), 29-52.

classified as a Loyalist an immigrant to Upper Canada was required to fulfil all three of the following conditions: he must have joined the Royal Standard in America before 1783; he must have been a resident in Upper Canada on or before July 28, 1798; and he must have been residing in the British Colonies in America before the Revolutionary War.[2] The early members of this Church who settled in Upper Canada could certainly qualify for the last two conditions; but since they were firm believers in nonresistance they would not have joined the Royal Standard. Besides, the petitions for crown land sent to the government by the first immigrants make no claim of their being United Empire Loyalists. If they really could claim to be Loyalists, the fact would certainly have been mentioned in these petitions, for it would have exempted them from paying fees for their land. Hence it is apparent that though they may have been Loyalist in spirit they were not Loyalist in letter.

The leader of the immigration of the River Brethren to Canada was John Winger, one of the founders. Although only small of stature and thus called "Hounsley" by his German friends, he seems to have possessed a spirit truly worthy of a pioneer, for it was only a few years after helping found the Church in the United States that he made his way into his new home.

John Winger arrived in Upper Canada in the year 1788. This date, about which there has been some uncertainty, is proved by the petition for crown land which he made in 1797.[3] In the first part Winger states that he came about 1789; but this is qualified when later in the document he speaks of coming in 1788. Besides Isaac Swayze who certified the petition states definitely that "Johannes" Winger came in 1788. The date is further confirmed by another petition for crown lands made by Jacob Sider (Syder, also Ceyder) in 1797. Sider, whose wife is said to have been a sister of John Winger, claims that he arrived in "this country" in 1788; and it is believed that he came in the same party with John Winger.[4]

Just how many members of the Church came to Canada in this period of migration is unknown. As suggested above, it is thought that John Winger came as one of a group; but whether this group was all of the same religious faith is uncertain. Probably this was not the case, for one source speaks of John Winger as coming with "a large number of neighbours."[5] Be that as it may, in his petition for crown land Winger states that he brought with him a wife and five children[6], while Jacob Sider's petition also reveals that he brought a wife and three children.

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2. James J. Talman, ed., *Loyalist Narratives from Upper Canada* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1946), xxix.
3. These petitions are in the Public Archives of Canada, Series S.
4. Climenhaga, *op. cit.*, 93.
5. *Ibid.*, 93.
6. This is further confirmed by the entries which John Winger made in a book of verse which he owned and which is now in the possession of a descendant, the Reverend Paul Nigh of Springvale, Ontario. The entries not only list the names and date of birth of his children but also record that he married Elizabeth Eschleman in 1777.

In addition another sister of John Winger accompanied the group.[7] Thus there were at least thirteen members or the children of members of the Church among the first group of Tunkers to settle in Canada.

An interesting individual taking part in the migratory movement from the United States during this period was John Troyer whose petition for crown land reveals that he came from Pennsylvania in 1789 and settled at Long Point Bay.[8] It has been claimed that John Troyer was a Tunker.[9] On the other hand, L. J. Burkholder in his *Brief History of the Mennonites in Ontario* merely states that it is not known whether Troyer was a Mennonite.[10] His petition avers that "it is against the Tenets of his Profession to bear arms," a statement which could have designated him as a Tunker. Perhaps the matter is of small importance for the Troyers became members of the local Baptist congregation.[11]

Returning to John Winger and Jacob Sider, tradition has it that they crossed over to Upper Canada near the present town of Fort Erie, just above Grand Island. As their petitions for crown land show, they proceeded to the Short Hills in Pelham Township, just north-west of the present city of Welland. It is said that they chose this hilly section of the country because it resembled the hills surrounding their homes in Pennsylvania.

Their life in the Short Hills, however, was not enviable. Although they brought cattle and other necessities, the land and the climate were not always cooperative. It is said that at one time they actually suffered because of a lack of food. Thinking that man could exist on what other of God's creation lived upon, they ate greens ordinarily consumed by animals alone.[12] This may well have been in 1788, famous in Upper Canada history as the Hungry Year, and the year of their arrival in the province. The peak of discouragement came when a violent storm, termed a hurricane in the petitions, laid waste their crops and buildings. Even now one of the roads in the vicinity is called Hurricane Road. So great was the destruction that both John Winger and Jacob Sider were forced to buy some land from Parchall Terry, a former lieutenant in Butler's Rangers. But this arrangement apparently was not satisfactory and their petitions for crown land in 1797 being successful, Jacob Sider took up 400 acres of land as a settler in Willoughby Township, Welland County, and John Winger 200 acres in the adjoining township of Bertie.

John Winger's ambition was not lessened by his experiences in the Short Hills but as leader and overseer he continued to apply himself to

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7. Climenhaga, *op. cit.*, 93.
8. See E. A. Cruikshank, "Petitions for Grants of Land, 1792-6," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, XXIV (1927), 143.
9. George Laidler, "John Troyer of Long Point Bay, Lake Erie," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, XXXIX (1947), 19.
10. L. J. Burkholder, ed., *A Brief History of the Mennonites in Ontario* (Toronto: Livingstone Press Limited, 1935), 39.
11. Laidler, *op. cit.*, 27.
12. Climenhaga, *op. cit.*, 93.

the task of building the Church in Canada. It is said that his personality was very strong and he was able to attract followers to the Church, including Mennonites of similar views.[13]. Under John Winger's influence several congregations were begun. In 1801 George Shupe and David Gingrich immigrated to Waterloo County from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and formed the nucleus of a congregation to which other newcomers from Pennsylvania were attracted. In 1804 John Doner, Christian Steckley and Christian Heise left their brethren in Pennsylvania and settled in Markham Township, and as a result a congregation developed near the present village of Victoria Square. When Winger went to take up land in Bertie Township he left behind in the Short Hills a small congregation under the direction of Andrew Hensler. In Bertie Township near Stevensville he organized what soon became the largest of the Tunker congregations.

Like all good leaders John Winger apparently took care to follow up his work. Of interest in this respect is a letter which he wrote to a young convert in Waterloo around 1825, just prior to his death. Except for some notations in a book of verse it is the only copy of his work which remains. The letter shows his concern for even the youngest members of the Church:

> By your request I find myself in duty also impressed to write to you heartily greeting you with the peace of the Lord.
>
> I was highly rejoiced to hear of your conversion dear child and sister in the Lord; be comforted and not fearful and let yourself not be made weak through the temptations of the enemy [,] for conversion is variously experienced. As I perceive from your writing that you have found peace and comfort and consolation in your God and that you wish to remain true to your God, remain by this resolution and let thyself not be weakened through the temptations of the enemy. As it does not depend on such great lights but on faithfulness, be faithful until death and thou shalt receive the Crown of Life; be diligent in prayer and flee the vanities of Youth and have your company with the children of God and you will save your peace and be preserved for Eternal Life. So much from me your old friend and Brother Hansy Winger the Elder to you Dear Child and Sister Sophia Fortni.[14]

Further evidence of John Winger's ambition and ability is seen in his contacts with the Government. As early as 1793 the Tunkers, along with the Quakers and Mennonites were granted exemption from militia duty, with the provision that they pay a fine for such exemption.[15] Undoubtedly it was through this influence that the Tunkers were accorded this privilege. John Winger's activity is further revealed in that the Tunkers were among the first outside the Church of England whose ministers were allowed to perform valid marriage ceremonies. A tradition in the

13. Burkholder, *op. cit.*, 249.

14. A copy of this letter, a translation from the original, is in the possession of of Bishop Alvin Winger of Gormley, Ontario.

15. For a detailed account of this aspect of Tunker history see the author's "Nonresistance in the Early Brethren in Christ Church in Ontario," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XXXI, No. 4 (1957), 278-286.

Church has it that Winger was the first such minister who was given this privilege, but this is not entirely correct, as the following will explain.

When the Province of Upper Canada was first formed only ministers of the Church of England could perform valid marriage ceremonies. This privilege was stubbornly upheld by Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe who "loved and honoured his Church only less (if less) than his king and was indignant that ministers of another Church should have the power to marry."[16] Although Dundas, the Secretary of State, encouraged permitting other ministers to perform marriages, Simcoe refused to take steps in this direction.[17]

But the Tunkers, among others, presumably under the direction of John Winger, pressed their case. In 1794 the Tunkers in cooperation with the Mennonites petitioned the Legislative Assembly for permission to marry with validity. Simcoe mentions this petition in a letter to Dundas, but he also shows that "The Petition was disregarded but it was found that had the question been stirred in any respect whatever the various pretensions and prejudices of the different Sectaries would have produced great animosity and confusion—it was therefore thought most advisable to suspend all proceedings on the subject."[18]

Simcoe, however, left Upper Canada in July, 1796, and did not return; soon permission was granted to certain other ministers to perform lawful marriages. Under the Marriage Act of 1798[19] this privilege was extended to ministers of the Church of Scotland, Lutherans, and Calvinists, Tunkers as well as Mennonites being included under the term "Calvinists". Mr. Riddell's explanation is that for the purposes of the Act the Tunkers and Mennonites were considered as sects of Baptists.[20] Much later on, in the Marriage Act of 1831,[21] the Tunkers along with many other denominations and sects, were formally recognized as being authorized to perform valid marriages.

It is apparent then that the tradition that John Winger was the first outside the Church of England to perform valid marriages is not completely true to facts. But probably more significant are John Winger's efforts to obtain this concession from the Government.

For nearly forty years John Winger gave inspired leadership to the Church in Canada. But even the best leaders pass on; and John Winger's death occurred in 1827.[22] He was buried on his own homestead in the family graveyard which borders the Black Creek. For many years his

16. William Renwick Riddell, "The Law of Marriage in Upper Canada," *The Canadian Historical Review*, II, No. 1, (1921), 228.
17. *Ibid.*, 229.
18. E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *The Simcoe Papers* (Toronto: Published by the Ontario Historical Society, 1925), III, 4. Simcoe to Dundas, August 2, 1794.
19. George III, C.4, s.l.
20. Riddell, *op. cit.*, 226.
21. II George IV, C.36.
22. *Origin and History of the Tunker Church in Canada* (Ridgeway: M. V. Disher, 1918), 4.

tombstone was only a plain moss-covered rock but in 1932 his Church honoured his memory by erecting an appropriate tombstone near his old stone marker. The inscription, which contains a few inaccuracies, reads: "Sacred to the memory of Bishop John Winger, one of the founders of the River Brethren of the U.S.A., 1787, and founder of the Tunker Church of Canada, about the year 1793. Fell asleep in Jesus, 1828. Erected by the Canada Joint Council of Tunker Church 1932."

From the beginning contacts were maintained with the Brethren in Pennsylvania and visits from one area to another were exchanged. Perhaps the earliest of these was the visit in 1789 of Jacob Engle, the leader of the Church in Pennsylvania and its first overseer or bishop. It may be that John Winger was ordained as overseer and the Church in Canada formally organized during this visit by Jacob Engle. This is the opinion of H. N. Grabill, a nineteenth-century amateur historian of the Church.[23] On the other hand, another source claims that John Winger had been ordained overseer before leaving the United States.[24] Whatever the case may be, Jacob Engle's visit was undoubtedly a great boost to the morale of the few pioneer members.

Another attempt at a close contact between the two branches of the Church was made in 1799 when the leaders of the Church in the United States sent to Canada a copy of the Articles of Faith. These seventeen articles became a basis for Church theology and guided the Canadian Church in a similar direction as that in the United States.[25] Though it was not until 1879 that a common General Conference was formed for Canada and the United States[26] the Church in the United States was able to exert a continuing influence through its own General Conference upon the members and congregations in Canada.

Although the Church advanced along practically identical theological lines in Canada as in the United States, the former early developed a different name from the latter. The Church in the United States was called the River Brethren until 1863 when its title was formally changed to Brethren in Christ. However in Canada the River Brethren were almost immediately called Tunkers. It is supposed that their neighbours observing them immersing their converts in baptism called them Tunkers, a derivative of the German verb *tunken*, meaning "to dip". A. B. Scherck writing of these people as he knew them around the middle of the nineteenth century says, "The public, at least in Canada, knows them as Tunkers. To this there is seldom any objection either by ministers or laymen. So universal is the application of the name that very few outside

23. H. N. Grabill, "A Brief Account of the Origin of the Brethren Known as River Brethren." This is in the form of a letter written by Grabill to Asa Bearss dated July 7, 1876.
24. *Origin and History of the Tunker Church in Canada*, 5.
25. The full text of these articles is given in Climenhaga, *op. cit.*, 99-103.
26. *General Conference Index* (1879), Article I, 27.

of the society know they have any other name."[27] So popular was this term that it appeared as early as 1793 in the official records and Acts of the Province of Upper Canada. Here again is an example of John Winger's industry, for he is reported to have registered the Church as Tunkers in an interview with the Government officials.[28] The term Tunker continued in use for many years. But owing to the use of the term Brethren in Christ by their United States counterparts the same term was gradually adopted by the members in Canada. However, not until 1933 was the name officially changed to Brethren in Christ (Tunker).[29]

The doctrines and customs of the Tunkers were quite distinctive. Their belief in the principles of nonresistance, a phase of their history perhaps as interesting and as well documented as any, has already been noted. Another distinguishing feature was their "plain clothes" which were intended to represent their strong belief in "separation from the world." In this the Tunkers resembled the Mennonites, Quakers, early Methodists and other related groups. All of these bodies expected their members to prescribe to a more or less uniform pattern of dress. A. B. Scherck claimed that "the early Tunkers outdid all the others in plainness,"[30] but certainly one must except the conservative Amish.

Scherck gives the best available description of the Tunkers as they appeared in the earlier years of the Church: "An old-time Tunker kept his hair long and parted in the middle; he had a full beard and never allowed the razor to touch any part of his face. He wore a 'cut-away' coat with an upright collar, of home-made cloth. His overcoat was made of the same goods as the undercoat; it also had a straight collar, but had a large cape attached to it. This gave warmth and protection to the shoulders. His hat was low, crowned with a broad rim made of heavy felt."[31] Of the women Scherck says, "They wore white muslin caps (coverings) without a border, a shaker bound in black, and a dress of the simplest make indeed." The dress was long and loose with a large handkerchief thrown over the shoulders and fastened to the waist. An apron was worn over the skirt. Their hair, like that of the men, was parted in the centre and combed straight down. Their bonnets of black material were extremely large and tied under the chin with large black ribbons. Jewelry and "costly array" was not permitted and indeed is frowned upon at the present day.

For many years this pattern of dress was rigidly adhered to. For example, the General Conference of 1888 decided that a brother who did not fully conform to the accepted mode of dress could not be ordained to

27. A. B. Scherck, "The Tunkers," *The United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada, Annual Transactions,* VI, (1909), 64.
28. *Origin and History of the Tunker Church in Canada,* 6.
29. *Canada Joint Council Compilation* (1933), 105.
30. Scherck, *op. cit.,* 66.
31. *Ibid.,* 66.

the ministry.[32] Bishop Jonas Winger of the Black Creek District probably expressed the thought of the Church in general when he made the following plea for the continued use of the old form of dress: "I have often said, we as Christians and as Church members should strictly follow one and only one form of dress. And, oh! let us not deviate from that simple form of plain dress, which is the custom among us as a people. . . . Now if any of us deviate from the simple and appropriate dress that is customary among us as brethren and sisters I think we are out of the way because we have an influence over others, and they look upon us as good men and women."[33] Apparently these patterns were well observed for the first one hundred years of the Church's history; but afterwards a gradual change developed, brought about no doubt by an increasing contact with society and other religious groups.

Perhaps the most distinctive religious service was the love feast. During the days when the German language was spoken among the members the love feast was called the *Liebens Mahl.* In the earlier years each of the larger congregations held two love feasts: the Spring love feast was in May or June while the Fall love feast occurred in September or early October. They were invariably held in large barns to accommodate the large crowds which never failed to attend. So large were these love feasts that for many years they were popularly known as the "Big Meeting". Prior to the love feast proper, preliminary services of one, two, or even three days would be conducted. In these services members would be urged to confess their wrongs and thus be prepared to partake of the sacraments. Then on Saturday the love feast would begin. The morning service was devoted to testimony meeting. In the afternoon various passages from the Bible would be read upholding the traditions and doctrines of the Church.

The evening meal constituted the most sacred part of the love feast for this was the communion service. Long rows of tables were prepared at which the brethren would be seated first followed by the sisters. Those who were not members of the Church were then invited to share in the meal at a separate table. The meal consisted mainly of soup with lamb for meat, the lamb serving as a symbol of Christ who in turn is regarded in the Holy Scriptures as a symbol of the Passover lamb. Upon the conclusion of this meal the members would turn around on their benches and feet washing would commence. One brother would wash and wipe the feet of a number of his brethren, and the sisters would follow their example. The "kiss of charity" would conclude the performance.

Scherck has recorded an interesting description of one of these early love feasts which he attended, apparently around 1850 as a young boy:

32. *General Conference Index* (1888), Article 5, 53.
33. Jonas Winger, "Plain Dress," *Evangelical Visitor* (August 1, 1888), 186.

> I have distinctly in memory one of these great meetings. It was held on the banks of the Grand River, in the Township of Waterloo, within three miles of the town of Preston. As usual, the gathering was large. The country people from all directions were present. First came the feast, in which the crowd as well as the members participated. The Lord's Supper followed, in which only members shared. And last of all came "Feet Washing," also for members only. They had buckets prepared for this purpose, and kept for this purpose, one for the men and another for the women. The men would wash each other's feet in pairs,[34] dry them with a towel, and end the ceremony by giving the apostolic kiss. The women did the same, until all who were in fellowship with the Church had taken part in the ceremony.[35]

Bishop Samuel Baker was requested in 1888 to give an account of the early love feasts as he remembered them. His account sheds additional light on the early practices at love feasts:

> The first Love Feast that I can recollect of being at was held in my father's barn in the fall of 1831 . . . There was a table on each side of the barn floor and part way across the end, leaving an open space of three or four feet between the tables. At the centre of the end table around this space the ministers were seated, and the remainder of the tables at that end were occupied with brethren and in front by sisters, until all were seated. Then the remaining seats at the table were filled up with those attending the meeting and all ate together. After the supper was over, the brethren took one table and the sisters the other, and the ordinance of feet-washing was attended to and the partaking of the bread and the wine as the emblems of the broken body and shed blood of Christ.[36]

As was the case with plain clothes, the form of the love feasts also gradually altered. The love feasts were no longer held in barns after churches were built in the 1870's and 1880's. Then in 1890 it was decided to discontinue the main meal on Saturday evening as a part of the communion service.[37] Also the method of feet washing was changed from one member washing the feet of several other members to each communicant washing the feet of one other member.[38]

The early history and customs of the Tunkers indicate that they, along with the Mennonites and Quakers who held similar views made a distinct contribution to the character of Upper Canada.

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34. There appears to be some inconsistency here for all other sources speak of one member washing the feet of several other members.
35. Scherck, *op. cit.*, 66-67.
36. Samuel Baker, "Early Customs of the Church in Canada: Love Feast," "*Evangelical Visitor* (November 1, 1888) 26, .
37. *General Conference Index* (1890), Article 2, 57.
38. *General Conference Minutes* (1912), Article 24, 106.

ARCHIVAL COURSE CARLETON UNIVERSITY

Readers are reminded of the course in archival principles and administration being offered by Carleton University in co-operation with the Public Archives of Canada in Ottawa, June 8-July 3, 1959, as reported in the past issue of this journal, page 42. Distinguished specialists will be contributing to the course and the programme will permit students to concentrate in the fields of archives or of records management. Those interested should write for application forms to The Registrar, Carleton University, Ottawa. The tuition fee is $72.00.

BOOK NOTES, WINTER & SPRING 1958-1959

Bauman, Robert F. "The Ottawas of the Lakes, 1615-1766" (*Northwest Ohio Quarterly,* XXX (4), Autumn 1958, 186-210; and XXXI (1), Winter 1958-59, 38-64). Parts I and II of a continuing series, the titles being "The Iroquois-Huron Island in the Algonquin Sea" and "The Iroquois Fur Trade Dilemma", and their subject the rivalries of Huron, Ottawa and Iroquois, Indian clients of the Hudson River and St. Lawrence fur traders.

Bertrand, J. P. *Highways of Destiny* (New York: Vantage Press, 1959. Pp. 301, maps). A history of the Lake Superior country of Canada centring particularly upon the section leading west to the prairies. The story of the region is traced through a span of more than three centuries in terms of the developments in the fur trade, mining, forestry, railway construction, and urban transportation and commerce.

Bishop, Olga. "Checklist of Historical Works on Western Ontario in the Libraries of the University of Western Ontario: Oxford and Waterloo Counties" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes,* XIV (5), December 1958, 39-49).

Boylen, J. C. *The Story of Castle Frank* (Toronto: Rous and Mann Press Limited. 1959. Pp. 24, illus.) A beautifully-printed booklet recounting the story of the log house at the end of Bloor Street overlooking the Don Valley, first occupied between 1793 and 1796 by Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe. Here Mrs. Simcoe, a retiring person "afflicted with an impediment in her speech" devoted her time to her family, diary, painting and sketching. The son for whom the house was named was killed in the Peninsular War at the age of 21 in 1812, and the house after years of disuse was destroyed by fire in 1829.

Buchanan, E. V. "Reminiscences" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes,* XIV (5), December 1958, 26-38). The beginnings of Ontario Hydro and anecdotes of Sir Adam Beck, the author's friend.

Campbell, Marjorie Freeman. *Niagara: Hinge of the Golden Arc* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1958. Pp. xviii, 356, illus. $6.00). An informal history of the Niagara peninsula as a whole, and histories of various important communities, parks, bridges, canals, railways and highways.

Chevrier, Hon. Lionel. *The St. Lawrence Seaway.* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1959. Pp. x, 174, illus. and maps). The centuries-long stream of projects, the manifold legislative hurdles, the tremendous physical obstacles to be surmounted before the navigation and power project could come to fruition—told by the former Minister of Transport and president of the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority 1954-57.

Clay, Charles. *The Leaside Story* (Leaside: The Leaside Council. 1958. Pp. 64, illus.). The growth of the suburban community, its industries and institutions.

Cronin, Fergus. "Who Really Drilled the Great Shaw Well?" (*Imperial Oil Review,* XLIII (2), April 1959, 26-29). The author argues that the "man named Shaw" who drilled the first 'gusher' at Oil Springs in January 1862, was John Shaw, a former Kingston photographer, and not Hugh Nixon Shaw, the Cooksville merchant and pioneer oil entrepreneur who died in 1863.

Curry, F. C. "Five for Twenty-Five" (*Inland Seas,* XIV (3), Fall 1958, 215-220). Description of a leisurely five-day trip between Montreal

and Kingston offered by the Montreal and Cornwall Navigation Company for $25 during the 1920's.

Curry, F. C. "Skin Divers in Action" (*Inland Seas,* XIV (4), Winter 1958, 308-310). In 1958 the author took part in an attempt to salvage vestiges of the *Sir Robert Peel,* the steamboat looted and burned off Wells Island during the troubles of 1837-8.

Dempsey, John B., junior. "Canada Steamship Lines, Limited: World's Largest Inland Water Transportation Company" (*Inland Seas,* XV (1), Spring 1959, 4-14). The company was incorporated in 1913 but the histories of some of its subsidiaries go back to 1827 and 1845. Through a series of mergers company operations were extended to Toronto by 1875 and throughout the Great Lakes system, while its properties included a wide range of specialized craft, shipbuilding firms, grain elevators, coal docks and tourist hotels. Today with the opening of the Seaway the company faces a new era of international competition.

Drury, Hon. Ernest C. *All for a Beaver Hat* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1959. Pp. xvi, 160, illus., maps). Devoted entirely to the Huron era, the volume recounts the pre-contact way of life of the aborigines and the work of French explorers, traders and missionaries from 1615 to the dispersion of the Hurons in 1650.

Dunning, R. W. "Some Implications of Economic Change in Northern Objibwa Social Structure" (*Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* XXIV (4), November 1958, 562-566). The changing economy and way of life of a band treaty Indians in the Pekangekum district of Northwestern Ontario since 1940.

Eccles, William J. *Frontenac: The Courtier Governor* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited. 1959. Pp. ix, 406). A scholarly, severely critical examination of the work of New France's renowned Governor who founded Fort Frontenac at Cataracoui in 1673 to secure the Great Lakes route to the interior.

Emerson, J. N. "The Mystery of the Pits" (*Sylva,* XIV (6), November-December 1958, 15-19). A description of the examination of the Puckasaw Pits near Marathon during the summer of 1958. See also *Ontario History* LI (1), Winter 1959, 69-72.

Fox, W. Sherwood. *'T Ain't Runnin' No More—Twenty Years After* (London, Ontario: Oxford Book Shop. 1958. Pp. xii, 89, illus.) Human agencies of exploitation — agriculture, lumbering, gravel quarrying, canal and drain construction—had severely damaged the utility and the beauty of the lower Aux Sables River country, until in 1946 the Ausable River Conservation Authority was established in the public interest to direct the orderly rehabilitation of the district.

Gogo, Jean L. *Lights on the St. Lawrence* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1958. Pp. 303, illus. $6.00). An anthology of brief extracts and quotations from a wide range of subjects and authors, designed "rather like a radio documentary" to convey the many facets of the river.

Good, W. C. *Farmer Citizen: My Fifty Years in the Canadian Farmers' Movement* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 294, illus. $5.00). A factual account of a career that led from a farm near Brantford, and the University of Toronto, to activity in the Grange and U.F.O., election to Parliament as a Progressive in 1921, and service in the co-operative movement after 1925.

Gowans, Alan. *Looking at Architecture in Canada.* (Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. 232, illus. $7.95).

Graham, Lloyd. "Blondin, the Hero of Niagara" (*American Heritage,* IX (5), August 1958, 34-37, 106-7). The celebrated aerialist who earned world fame by his performances at Niagara Falls between 1859 and 1861 named the home in Britain in which he died in 1897 at the age of 73, Niagara House.

Grant, Rev. A. M. "Early Religious Life and Church Organization in the Huron Tract, Part II" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes,* XIV (5), December 1958, 1-25). Continues the histories of denominational activity and of churches and ministers at Hensall, Chiselhurst, Brucefield, Clinton, Kippen, Wroxeter, Ashfield, Port Albert and Grand Bend.

Gzowski, Peter. "What It's Like to Have a Famous (But Forgotten) Ancestor" (*Maclean's,* LXXII (11), May 23, 1959, 24-25, 32-35). The life and accomplishments of Sir Casimir Stanislaus Gzowski, the Polish refugee who came to Canada in 1842 and won fame for his work as construction engineer and for innumerable public services.

Higginson, Thomas Boyd. *Descendants of Reverend Thomas Higginson.* (London: The Research Publishing Company, 52 Lincoln's Inn Fields, WC2. 1958. Pp. 64, illus.). Seven generations of descendants of the Rev. T. Higginson who was born in 1700 at Ballinderry, Co. Antrim, and four of whose grandsons emigrated to Canada in 1817 and 1819 to settle at Hawkesbury, Prescott County.

Holbrook, J. H. and Farmer, M. H. *Diary of Hannah Aikman (Hammill) Kern of Dundas and Ancaster, Wentworth County, Ontario, 9 April 1870-1 January 1885.* (Western Ontario Historical Notes, Number 26. London: Lawson Memorial Library. 1958. Pp. 38, illus.).

Hutton, Eric. "The Streets of Canada: Sandwich" (*Maclean's,* LXXII (2), January 17, 1959, 16-19, 49-51) Stories of the "continuous main street of Sandwich, Windsor, Walkerville and Ford City, now merged as the metropolis of Windsor."

Jackson, Alexander Young. *A Painter's Country: The Autobiography of A. Y. Jackson* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company. 1958. Pp. xv, 170, illus.). The progress of Canadian art mirrored in a career that carries the reader along to Paris and far and wide across Canada—to northern Ontario and Quebec, the prairies, the Pacific coast, the Arctic.

Kemp, Forster A. "Through Muskoka's Narrow Channels" (Canadian Railroad Historical Association, *News Report No. 92,* September 1958, 113-115). Railway and steamship services into and around the Muskoka country.

Kerr, D. and Spelt, J. "Manufacturing in Suburban Toronto" (*The Canadian Geographer,* No. 12, 1958, 11-19). Since 1950 the new suburbs of Scarborough, North York and Etobicoke have not only attracted industry from outside the Toronto area but have also caused many manufacturing firms to migrate from the city itself.

Ketcheson Family History Publication Committee. *A Genealogical History Through Eight Generations in Canada of the Ketcheson Family and Descendants.* (Belleville: Mrs. Bessie Ketcheson Franklin, Albert College. 1958. Pp. 72, illus. $4.75). William Ketcheson, who emigrated to America in 1773, joined the Queen's Rangers and went to Nova Scotia as a Loyalist in 1783, moving to Fredericksburgh Township in 1786.

Kingston Historical Society. *Historic Kingston, Number Seven,* edited by George F. G. Stanley (Kingston: The Society. 1958. Pp. 70, illus. $1.00). Contents include the following: "Early Canadian Gunsmiths with Special Reference to the Quinte Area" (5-14), by Thomas Riedel; "Recent

Archaeological Discoveries at Toniata" (15-27), by Gerald Stevens; "History of the Sisters of Providence of St. Vincent de Paul in Kingston" (28-42), by Rev. Sr. Mary Electa; "A Kingston Surgeon in the American Civil War" (43-52), by H. P. Gundy; "The Indian Site at Consecon" (53-63), by Rev. B. P. Squire; "The Sir George Kirkpatrick Memorial Fountain" (64-67), by H. P. Gundy, etc.

Klinck, Carl F. "The Canadian Chiefs and 'Tiger' Dunlop" (*Waterloo Review,* II (1), Summer 1959, 46-51). The visit of four Canadian Indians to London in 1825 gave Dunlop the opportunity to pen six reports and editorials on their activities in *The Telescope,* a Sunday paper he was editing at the time.

Krueger, Ralph R. "The Disappearing Niagara Fruit Belt" (*Canadian Geographical Journal,* LVIII (4), April 1959, 102-113). Increasing urbanization, expanding industry, and highway construction are seriously reducing Canada's best fruitland.

Love, Ben. "It Has Its Memories, the Saga of McDougall Mills" (*Sylva,* XIV (2), March-April 1958, 8-12). In 1910 Alex. and Sam McDougall established a large lumber mill at McDougall Mills, east of Sioux Lookout, and then another at Allanwater. In 1927 the enterprises were dismantled, leaving an uninhabited flag stop on the Canadian National Railway line.

MacLean, Joan. "Century Town" (*Ontario Hydro News,* XLV (11), November 1958, 14-17, 27). An account of Bowmanville which celebrated its centennial as a town in 1958.

Mealing, Stanley R. "The Enthusiasms of John Graves Simcoe" (Canadian Historical Association *Annual Report,* 1958, 50-62). An examination of the more fixed ideas of Upper Canada's effervescent first Lieutenant-Governor. Though Simcoe was sincerely devoted to the progress of the colony and its people, his projects were often hastily conceived, out-of-date, and motivated by a desire to impress his superiors: "Since his ambition outran his talents, he deliberately sought after original, ingenious and "enlarged" designs."

Moir, John S. "The Origins of the Separate School Question in Ontario" (*Canadian Journal of Theology,* V (2), April 1959, 105-118). A review of the schools question in Canada West between passage of the Common School Act of 1841 and enactment of Scott's Separate School Act of 1863.

Moodie, Susanna. *Life in the Clearings,* edited by Robert L. McDougall (Pioneer Books. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1959. Pp. xxxiii, 298, illus.). A reprint of the classic first published in 1853, describing living conditions in Canada after the pioneering stage had been passed and the author had become "a respected matron of Belleville".

O'Meara, Michael. *Oil Springs. The Birthplace of the Oil Industry in North America.* (Oil Springs: Centennial Historical Committee, Oil Springs Council. 1958. Pp. 50, illus.). Between 1858 and 1862 Oil Springs experienced a series of exciting discoveries but the boom collapsed in 1866. The industry revived during the 1880's and production has continued at a fairly steady rate ever since. During the century since 1858 the Oil Springs field has yielded over 10,000,000 barrels of crude petroleum.

Ormsby, William. "The Problem of Canadian Union, 1822-1828" (*Canadian Historical Review,* XXXIX (4), December 1958, 277-295). In 1822-3 John Beverly Robinson was in England attempting to secure a better share for Upper Canada of the customs collections of the lower province.

Learning that a union of the two colonies was under consideration he endeavoured to discourage the project or, alternatively, to win an arrangement that protected the interests of Upper Canada. The bill was dropped, but when Archdeacon Strachan went to England in 1824 he too found it necessary to draft a paper objecting to the proposal which had once more emerged under discussion.

Plummer, J. O. *Canadian Pioneers: History of the Plummer Family* (Toronto: The author, 3015 Queen Street East. 1958. Pp. 35). The life story and experiences of an English-born mining engineer who came to Canada to manage a copper mine at Bruce Mines and ultimately became Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Algoma district; and those of his sons—merchants, bankers and clergymen.

Prentice, W. M. *Random Stories from Georgian Bay* (Scarborough: The author, 2472 Eglinton Avenue East. 1958. Unpaged, mimeo.). Accounts of the wrecks of the "Mary Ward" (1872) and the "Waubuno" (1879), Willow Creek Village, etc.

Preston, Richard A. editor. *Kingston Before the War of 1812.* (Ontario Series, Volume III. Toronto: The Champlain Society for the Province of Ontario. 1959. Pp. cxvi, 428, illus. and maps. $5.00. For members of the Ontario Historical Society when ordered through the Secretary-Treasurer, $3.50. See advertisement in this number). The base at Carleton Island, coming of the Loyalists, organization of the settlements and their institutions, the rise of Kingston to prominence as a commercial centre and a military and naval base for Upper Canada. The story is told in the Editor's Introduction and illustrated by the documents.

Rich, E. E. *Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1870: Volume I, 1670-1763* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society 1958. Pp. xvi, 688, xv, illus. and maps. Issued only to subscribers to the Society). A definitive history of the Company, much of whose early activities were centred about Moose Factory, Fort Albany and other portions of the James Bay sector of present-day Ontario.

Sas, Anthony. "Dutch Concentration in Rural Southwestern Ontario During the Postwar Decade" (Association of American Geographers, *Annals,* XLVIII (3), September 1958, 185-194). An inquiry into the reasons why over half of the 110,000 Netherlanders who emigrated to Canada between 1945 and 1955 chose to settle in rural Ontario, especially in the region between Lakes Huron and Erie.

Schull, Joseph. *One Hundred Years of Banking in Canada, a History of the Toronto-Dominion Bank* (Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing Company. 1958. Pp. ix, 222, illus. $4.50). The Bank of Toronto was organized in 1855, the Dominion Bank in 1870, the two merging in 1954.

Shaw, Margaret Mason. *Geologists and Prospectors* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin. 1958. Pp. 190, illus. $2.50). The four biographies include Ontario's J. B. Tyrrell, grand old man of the Canadian mining industry, and Julian Cross, who directed the development of the iron mine at Steep Rock.

Stirling Centennial 1858-1958 (No publisher or date cited. Pp. 108, illus.). History of the village, its settlement, industries and organizations. Stirling is the centre of a farming district in Hastings county, in a section first settled by Loyalists.

Swan, C. M. J. F. "The Roots of a University" (*Canadian Geographical Journal,* LVII (6), December 1958, 204-208). Assumption University's roots go back to the parish, church and school founded for a nucleus

of colonists from Quebec who settled in the Detroit-Windsor area in 1749. A charter was secured for the College in 1830 but construction was only begun in 1855. After being affiliated with the University of Western Ontario since 1919 Assumption was chartered as a university in 1953 and now has four affiliated colleges of its own.

Tilt, C. R. "Provincial Parks in Ontario" (*Canadian Geographical Journal,* LVIII (2), February 1959, 36-55). An account of the Provincial parks erected subsequent to 1887 (when the Niagara Falls Park as established) with descriptions of the scenic and historical significance of each.

Toronto Public Library Board. *Reading in Toronto, 1958.* (Toronto: Toronto Public Libraries. 1959. Pp. 44, illus.) The seventy-fifth annual report of the Board contains an account (pages 18-25) of the founding and growth of the institution since 1884.

Walker, Frank N. "Doorways that Welcome" (*The Canadian Banker,* LXVI (1), Spring 1959, 64-79). Architects and architecture of nineteenth-century Toronto.

Watt, F. W. "The National Policy, the Workingman and Proletarian Ideas in Victorian Canada" (*Canadian Historical Review,* XL (1), March 1959, 1-26). Labour organizations and workingclass views of contemporary developments, seen principally through labour journals like the *Ontario Workman,* the *Labor Union,* the *Palladium of Labor,* and the *Labor Advocate.*

Western Ontario Historical Notes, (XV (1), March 1959, 1-23). To commemorate the centenary of the *Simcoe Reformer* which first appeared as the *Erie News* in 1858, the *Reformer* issued a special edition in September 1958, sections from which are reproduced here.

Willoughby, William R. "Power Along the St. Lawrence" (*Current History,* XXXIV (201), May 1958, 283-290). A brief review of the generation-long negotiations among transportation and public utility corporations, between regional and national governments, and on the international level, which had to be resolved before the present St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project could finally be approved.

Wilson, Ann. *A Delegate Reports: 1957 A.C.W.W. Conference and Tour.* (St. Mary's: The author, RR6. 1958. Pp. 31. $1.00). Letters home descriptive of places visited during the author's travels to and from Colombo, Ceylon, where she participated as a delegate representing the Women's Institutes of Ontario, etc., in the Conference of the Associated Country Women of the World.

The Editor wishes to thank the following for furnishing copies of new books in the realm of Ontario history or bringing them otherwise to his attention: T. B. Higginson, Carl F. Klinck, W. M. Prentice, Dr. W. S. Wallace, Mrs. Ann Wilson, Maclean's, Ryerson Press, the Toronto Public Library, Vantage Press.

THE ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1958

STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE

REVENUE

Membership Fees.			
Annual		$1,763.60	
Libraries and Societies		529.16	
		2,292.76	
Decrease in items paid in advance..		99.50	$2,392.26
Ontario Government Grant			3,000.00
Ontario Government Grant for moving			100.00
Interest			342.75
Donations			3.00
Annual Meeting			1,264.60
Sundry			2.00
Calculation of Profit on Book Sales:			
Sale of Books		326.80	
Cost of Publications:			
Opening Inventory	$645.00		
Purchase of Royal Fort Frontenac	312.00		
	957.00		
Inventory as at Dec. 31, 1958:			
The Valley of the Trent $471.00			
Royal Fort Frontenac 237.00	708.00	249.00	
Profit on Book Sales			77.80
			$7,182.41

EXPENDITURES

ONTARIO HISTORY			
Printing		$2,114.20	
Engraving		40.00	
Envelopes		87.00	
Postage		119.65	
Editor's Honorarium		500.00	
Sundry		26.29	
			$2,887.14
Printing and Stationery			95.00
Postage			110.00
Fees			14.00
Travel			160.94
Annual Meeting			1,112.95
Addressograph Frames			10.50
Alloy Plates			3.70
Refunds to Members			12.00
Safety Deposit Box			5.00
Secretary's Honorarium			600.00
Fidelity Bond			24.00
Grant to Museum Section			100.00
Auditor's Fee			50.00
Telegrams			4.93
Sundry			17.11
Moving Cartons			2.00
Packing			54.50
Cartage, Labour and Supervision			113.50
Speaker and Exhibit at Ont. Educ. Assoc.			133.15
Exchange			36.12
Gratuities			12.00
Total Disbursements			$5,558.54
Excess of Revenue over Expenditure			1,623.87
			$7,182.41

GENERAL ACCOUNT BALANCE SHEET
as at December 31, 1958

Assets

Cash on Hand	$ 7.44	
Cash in Bank	3,581.94	
Bonds (par value)	1,400.00	
THE VALLEY OF THE TRENT on hand	471.00	
ROYAL FORT FRONTENAC on hand	237.00	
		$5,697.38

Liabilities and Capital

Due to General Cruikshank Publication Fund	$ 840.13	
Due to Life Membership Account	50.00	
Due to Bequest Account	23.72	
Reserve for Fees paid in advance	435.50	
Capital Balance, January 1, 1958	2,724.16	
Surplus earned during 1958	1,623.87	
		$5,697.38

GENERAL CRUIKSHANK PUBLICATION FUND BALANCE SHEET
as at December 31, 1958

Assets

Cash in Bank	$ 289.57	
Bonds (par value)	5,400.00	
Due from General Account	840.13	
		$6,529.70

Liabilities and Capital

Capital Balance, January 1, 1958		$5,682.45	
Sale of Books	$646.13		
Bank Interest and Bond Revenue	201.12	847.25	
			$6,529.70

LIFE MEMBERSHIP BALANCE SHEET
as at December 31, 1958

Assets

Bonds (par value)	$300.00	
Due from General Account	50.00	
		$ 350.00

Liabilities and Capital

Capital Balance, January 1, 1958	$300.00	
New Member in 1958	50.00	
		$ 350.00

RESERVE ACCOUNT BALANCE SHEET
as at December 31,1958

Assets

Bonds (par value)	$5,000.00

Liabilities and Capital

Capital Balance	$5,000.00

BEQUEST ACCOUNT BALANCE SHEET
as at December 31, 1958

Assets

Bonds (par value)	$ 200.00	
Due from General Account	23.72	
		$ 223.72

Liabilities and Capital

Capital Balance, January 1, 1958		$ 200.00	
Interest earned in 1958	$ 9.49		
Interest Adjustment for 1956 and 1957	14.23	23.72	
			$ 223.72

SUSPENDED SOCIETIES BALANCE SHEET
as at December 31, 1958

Assets

Cash in Bank	$ 142.35	
Bonds (per value)	100.00	
		$ 242.35

Liabilities and Capital

Capital Balance, January 1, 1958	$ 237.06	
Bond and Bank Interest	5.29	
		$ 242.35

AUDITOR'S REPORT

To the Members of the Ontario Historical Society:

I have examined the Balance Sheet of The Ontario Historical Society as at December 31st 1958 and the Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the Year Ended December 31st 1958. My examination included a general review of the accounting procedures and such tests of other supporting evidence as I considered necessary. I report that there were a number of disbursements for which there were no invoices, and that only one of the three officers having access to the securities is bonded. The amount of the bond for this one officer is less than the securities owned by the Society. In my opinion the attached Balance Sheet and Statement of Revenue and Expenditure present fairly the financial position of the Society as at December 31st 1958 and the result of its operation for the year ended on that date.

Toronto, Canada — P. S. SEDDON,
May 15th, 1959. — Chartered Accountant.

NEW MEMBERS

We welcome the following who have been enrolled as new members in the Ontario Historical Society since the publication of the previous lists in *Ontario History*, Volume 50, Numbers 2 (Spring 1958) and 4 (Autumn 1958), pages 98-9 and 210:

Individual Members

Miss Cicely M. Blackstock, Toronto
Rev. Robert R. Bonis, Highland Creek
Mr. Winnett Boyd, Mount Royal
Miss Verna W. Burgess, Peterborough
Mr. H. Cassels, Jr., Toronto
Mr. Harvey Currell, Toronto
Mr. W. Howard De Cew, Vancouver
Mr. G. Ewart Donnell, Agincourt
Mrs. George Downey, Tiverton
Miss Mildred Easto, Toronto
Mr. William A. Gilbert, Toronto
Mr. B. L. Haggan, Port Burwell
Mr. W. D. Ham, Chatham
Miss Adeline Hanna, Niagara Falls, Ont.
Mr. S. P. Hanna, Victoria, B.C.
Dr. I. F. Hardin, Edmonton
Mr. Prokop V. Havlik, Toronto
Mr. E. V. Jackson, Toronto
Mr. G. R. Langley, Peterborough
Miss Ruby B. McIntyre, Toronto
Mr. Norman Maidens, Minden
Miss B. A. Martin, Toronto
Mr. George Metcalf, Toronto
Miss Winnifred Pyne, Toronto
Mr. W. E. Renison, Toronto
Miss Elizabeth Rothwell, Toronto
Mr. William D. Scott, Toronto
Mr. E. Morris Sider, Toronto
Mr. Russell Steward, Thornhill
Mr. George R. Stock, London
Mr. Leslie J. Trevor, Toronto
Mrs. Herbert E. Watson, Toronto
Mrs. G. W. Williams, Aurora
Mrs. Morris Zaslow, Downsview

Corporate Members

Grey County Historical and Art Society, Owen Sound
The Township of York Historical Committee, Toronto
Dickinson College Library, Carlisle, Pennsylvania
Knox College Library, Toronto
The Public Library, Chatham
The Public Library, Edmonton
The Public Library, Etobicoke
The Public Library, Port Arthur
Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Ottawa
Heron Park Public School, West Hill
Rideau High School, Ottawa

THE MUSEUMS SECTION OF THE ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1958

STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE

REVENUE

News Letter Subscriptions	$ 94.00
Workshop Registrations (1957)	164.00
Provincial Grant, 1958 Workshop	200.00
Ontario Historical Society, 1957	50.00
Bank Interest	17.91
Total Receipts	$ 525.91
Excess of Expenditures over Revenues	40.76
	$ 566.67

EXPENDITURES

Toronto Workshop:		
Dr. Guthe		$ 96.00
Speaker's Expenses		6.00
Meals, guests and speakers		50.75
Programs, printing, etc.		29.30
Telephone, postage, decorating		31.77
Stencils for Workshop report		30.00
Mimeographing Workshop report		28.16
Travel Expenses		16.60
		288.58
News Letter:		
Printing	$ 83.05	
Postage	17.00	100.05
Travelling Expenses		82.45
Dr. Guthe's Book		43.99
Canadian Museums Association Fee		3.00
Flowers		15.00
Stationery and Postage		24.22
Telephone, Exchange, Miscellaneous		9.38
Total Disbursements		$ 566.67

BALANCE SHEET AS AT SEPTEMBER 30, 1958

ASSETS

Cash on Hand	$ 25.00
Workshop Advance	50.00
Cash in Bank	497.37
Total Assets	$ 572.37

LIABILITIES ..... Nil

SURPLUS

Balance as at October 1, 1957	$ 613.13
Less: Excess of Expenditures over Receipts for year 1957-58	40.76
Surplus, September 30, 1958	$ 572.37

THE PROGRAMME OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

The following details of the annual convention of the Ontario Historical Society to be held at Peterborough, Ontario, on June 18, 19 and 20, 1959, have been circulated to the membership but are made available below for others who may wish to attend the sessions. The mailed notices also included a list of hotels and motels to assist members in making their own accommodation arrangements, as requested by the Convention Committee.

Registration will begin at 2:00 p.m., Thursday, June 18 at the Empress Hotel, Charlotte and Water Streets, Peterborough. The fee is $2,00 per person. Members may register in advance by mail, addressing their letters to Miss Genevieve Sullivan, The Public Library, Peterborough.

Programme

The programme of talks and papers on local and general topics will include addresses by Mr. Robert Porter and Miss Anne Heidemann on the history of the district, by Dr. Maurice Careless on "The Pattern of Ontario History", by Mr. Lloyd Hale on "Early Immigration" and by Mr. John Muggeridge on "Dr. John Rolph, Forgotten Man of the Upper Canadian Rebellion". In addition there will be a panel discussion on "The Writing of History", and the usual business meetings. On Friday afternoon the members will travel by bus to Lakefield to the old home of Catherine Parr Traill and thence to a garden party. The annual dinner will take place in the Oak Room of the Empress Room at 7:15 p.m., Friday. The address will be given by Mr. Kildare Dobbs, widely-known radio and television broadcaster, editor, critic and wit, speaking on the subject "Imagination in History". On Saturday a bus tour to the famous Serpent Mound at Rice Lake followed by a luncheon there, brings the programme to a close.

Reservations

Besides the advance registration, members may reserve tickets for the Annual Dinner ($3.50), for the bus tours to Lakefield ($1.00) and Serpent Mound ($1.00), and for the luncheon during the Serpent Mound tour ($1.25). Such reservations should be mailed as early as possible, and members are urged to register in advance in order to ease the work of the Committee and to help it to estimate the attendance for he various functions. Cheques accompanying reservations should include exchange and be made payable to the Ontario Historical Society Convention Committee, care of Miss Sullivan.

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